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ABSTRACT

This paper, the fourth of seven, part of an interdisciplinary project on the context of reading and reading research that explores similarities and dissimilarities in the response to literature in readers from different cultures, describes the work on organizing texts from different cultures and nations (Denmark, Greenland, and Turkey) in the "same" versions in English and in Danish. The paper approaches the problem of translation by attempting to ensure that future readers in different cultures meet with texts which are--in textual, "physical" terms--as "identical in Danish and in English as humanly possible." The paper explains that the main objective of this part of the project is to ensure that as few differences as possible in the readers' responses can be ascribed to differences in the "stimuli," i.e. in the texts, the tales the readers read. The paper discusses the procedures employed in the translation and the social and cultural background of each story, and also records the changes wrought on the texts in the processes of linguistic transfer. Contained in the paper are the Danish versions of all three stories. One figure, one table, two diagrams, one sketch, and six notes are included, and 17 references and an overview of the project are appended. (MS)

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FOLKTALE:
A CROSS-CULTURAL, INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDY OF THE EXPERIENCE OF LITERATURE

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PAPER

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Title: THE PROCEDURES FOR ESTABLISHING THE 'SAME', DEFINITIVE VERSIONS IN DANISH AND IN ENGLISH OF A DANISH, A GREENLANDIC, AND A TURKISH STORY IN THE "FOLKTALE-PROJECT"

Author(s): Cay Dollerup, Iven Reventlow, Carsten Rosenberg Hansen

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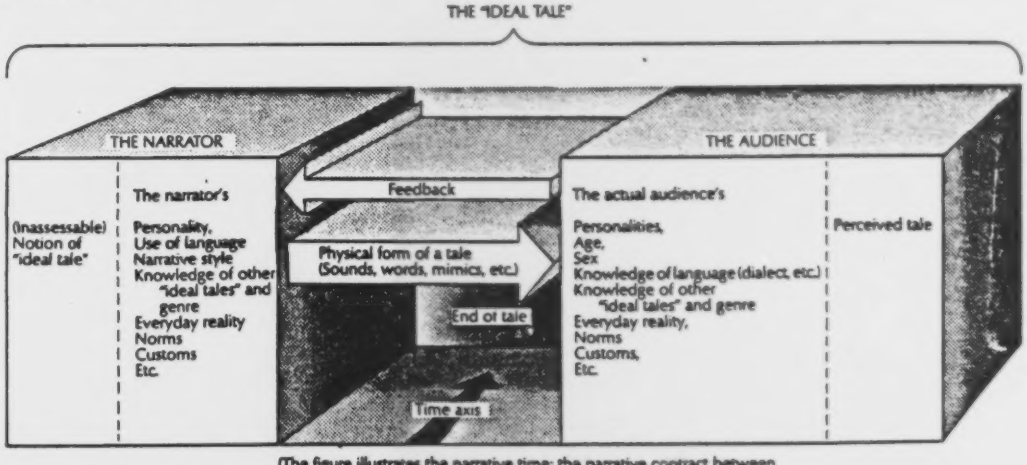

(The figure illustrates the narrative time: the narrative contract between narrator and audience and which is limited in time.)

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FOLKTALE: A CROSS-CULTURAL, INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDY OF EXPERIENCE OF LITERATURE.

PAPER NO. 4

The Procedures for Establishing the 'Same', Definitive Versions in Danish and in English of a Danish, a Greenlandic, and a Turkish Story in the "Folktale-Project".

Authors: Cay Dollerup, Iven Reventlow, Carsten Rosenberg Hansen

ABSTRACT:

This paper describes the work on setting up texts from different cultures and nations (Denmark, Greenland, and Turkey) in the "same" versions in English and in Danish.

The establishment of texts which are as "identical as humanly possible" in two different languages, viz. Danish and English, both of which encompass readers in more than one culture, is crucial to the study, since its prime objective is to explore cross-cultural similarities and dissimilarities in the response to literature.

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CD, IR, CRH

This paper - the fourth one on the "Folktale-Project" - focusses exclusively on the way the "Folktale" team tackled the problem of setting up the "same" Danish and English version of three folktales. Previous papers described the way the folktales in question had been selected empirically. The folktales originated from three different cultures and linguistic areas: Danish (Scandinavian/European); Greenland (Inuit/Eskimo); and Turkey (Islamic). In those papers we also assessed the tales' authenticity in broad outlines, but here we return to the topic in more depth.

This stage of the project represents the establishment of Danish and English versions of the folktales which were as "identical" as humanly possible. We print the texts in both Danish and English and discuss them from the point of view of origin, contents, linguistics, and "sameness" in contents.

I.0. BACKGROUND

Using narratives from oral traditions, "Folktale" explores similarities and differences in the response to literature in readers from various cultures.

In the first three stages of the project

(i) we made a preliminary selection of eleven texts representing three different cultures (Danish; Greenlandic; and Turkish (1985b)), and

(ii) we had 115 Danish readers report their responses on the tales in order to find which three texts were most useful for our future work.

This paper discusses our the intensive work on the three texts eventually selected. Within the framework of the project, the paper is about the crucial question of ensuring that future readers in different cultures meet with texts which are - in textual, "physical" terms - as "identical in Danish and in English as humanly possible". The main objective is to ensure that as few differences as possible in the readers' responses can be ascribed to differences in the "stimuli", i.e. in the texts, the tales the readers read.

In the first paper on "Folktale" we listed some reasons for using texts of oral provenance in the study of cross-cultural experience of literature, namely:

- folktales belong to traditions of oral transmission, and, within that context, traditions of oral narratives. Oral narratives are found all over the world and predate written literature.

- at the same time, specific oral tales are part of local traditions and therefore connect intimately with the immediate cultural and social norms of the narrators and their audiences.

- oral narrators' (and societies') non-proprietarian attitude towards tales means that we may change texts in our cross-cultural study. In so doing, we violate no artistic "droit moral". And, in principle, we argue that, as editors, we only represent a new narrator. But in order to preserve the "original" social and cultural features, we must keep track of all changes in the texts, especially those that concern semantics (contents). In other words: alterations in the texts must not substantially change the "cultural identity" of the texts, because otherwise we might jeopardise the main point in choosing texts from different cultures (Cf. Paper 1: 9-10, 16-19. Paper 2:5-6).

The present paper deals with the way we tried to adhere to the guidelines we had previously set down. Accordingly it is about the procedures we employed; it discusses the social and cultural background of each story and the circumstances of recording; and records the changes wrought on the texts in the processes of linguistic transfer.

II.0 THE NARRATIVES

II.1 The Narratives in the Main Part of the Project

In the experimental set-up we envision, the Danish and English texts are read by readers from different cultures. The experiences of each reader are recorded by the readers themselves on questionnaires in Danish and English. This means that virtually all facets in the experimental set-up are fluid and unstable:

In each culture, religious backgrounds, attitudes and norms differ. In every nation, the social norms vary from those of other nations. And the whole social fabric, the composition of the population as a whole, is not identical from country to country. There are differences in education, in outlook, and the like, which affect the readers' readings.

At the purely individual level, there may be differences in personal knowledge, in reading strategies, in the ability to read, in motorial differences.

At the linguistic level, the language of the text originates at one particular point where the "same and identical texts" were established, and neither in Danish nor in English, can the texts encompass all the potentialities of the language: the narrative is tied up with the linguistic capabilities and competencies of the translators and their linguistic norms.

Accordingly, our "same" or "identical" versions of the tales in Danish and English are no more than linguistic approximations at the content level of certain narrative elements. However, once we accept that perfection is unattainable, and that "unquestionable identity" is impossible because we - and our readers - live in a world which is changing in language, in societies, and cultures - then we can with some confidence,

describe what we have done to avoid the some of the pitfalls in the type of linguestic transfer we are dealing with here. A transfer, which is, furthermore, not a traditional "translation". This attitude permits us to look into more detail at the tales in relation to the place they were originally told, and it also allows us to take our knowledge of this narrative moment, the "ideal tale", into account in the establishment of "sameness" between the texts in modern Danish and modern British English. We do no forget that the tales were originally told to a culturally circumscribed audience, and will - in the "Folktale-Project" - reach other audiences with other cultural backgrounds, and which should, nevertheless, get more or less the same story in terms of phenomena, features, norms, actions and plots. (A further discussion will appear in a subsequent paper).

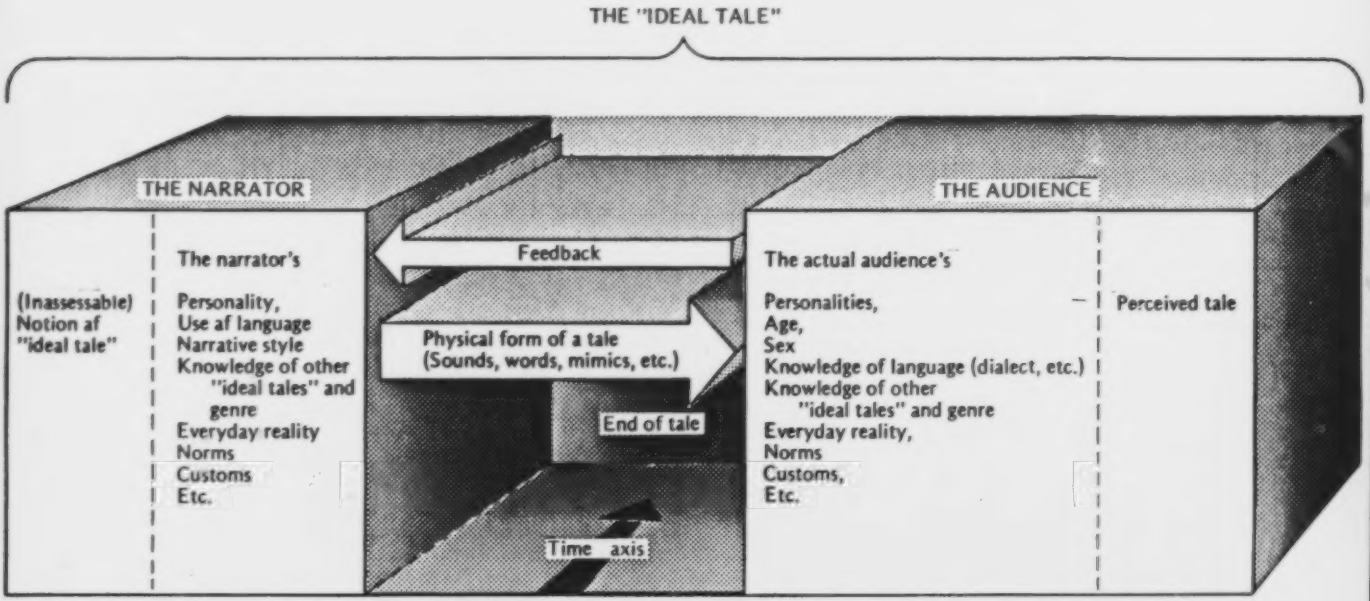
II.2 The Narratives in Relation to the Original, "Ideal Tale".

No written folktales constitute "authentic tales" although many, including those used in "Folktale", satisfy the demands made by rigorous and scholarly folkloristic research. Elsewhere, we have argued that oral tales come into existence in "ideal tales" in a narrative contract of limited duration between a narrator and an audience - and that this audience may affect the course and contents of the story by e.g. by signs of approval or disapproval (Dollerup, Holbek, Reventlow, Rosenberg Hansen 1984). The process is illustrated on the next page:

By making a recording of the "ideal" tale, the recorder falls short of rendering the "ideal tale": the recorder and the means of recording both represes "filters". In these "filters", for instance, the narrator's intonation and voice are rarely heard. And if the written recording is only a summary there is a considerable linguistic "filter" i.e. a loss of language and overtones. At all events, a recording is prised loose from its origin, and it is only a reflection of the original "ideal tale".

For our purposes, it is important that the stories should be as "accurate" as possible under the circumstances. This is why we demand that they must be approved by some authority on folk

Figure of Some Formative Elements in an "Ideal Tale"



(The figure illustrates the narrative time: the narrative contract between narrator and audience and which is limited in time).

narratives in the culture from which they derived. Similarly, we stick close to the authentic tales in order to preserve their contents, i.e. the semantic side, in the cross-cultural versions of the texts. The insistence on describing the changes in the tales - both in the "originals" as well as in the "definitive" versions - means that we chart the influence of the "filters" to a greater extent than in much folkloristic material.

In itself, the use of modern Danish and British-English implies that we are dealing with approximations to authentic material - not with stylistically authentic material in terms of local oral traditions. It is the preservation of contents which is our main concern in the cross-cultural transfer of the narratives. The stories must suffer as little as possible in terms of their social and cultural imprint.

II.3 The Narratives' "Sameness" in Danish and English.

One of the reasons for choosing oral tales was their malleability at the linguistic level, i.e. we chould change "the original text" in the source language - or to be quite exact in "one language" - so that it came to conform with the semantic contents implied in the linguistic expression in the receptor language, or, to be more correct: the "other language".

At first glance, this sounds surprising since much thinking in orthodox translation theory focusses on stylistic "fidelity".

We may here disregard the fact that this fidelity is often studied between closely related language. For in the context of our cross-cultural study, it is more to the point that "style" can be no absolute entity, partly because it is changing in terms of time, a partly because it is different from society to society. Even "societies" speaking the "same" language are not "identical" in their social stratifications and educations, and hence the populations' and the individuals' use and perception of their language are not the "same" from country to country.

The latter point is often overlooked in older works on "style" and "equivalence" in translation. But in recent years it has been pointed out over and over again that the insistence or

"identity of style" in translation is unsound both ontologically and in practice, especially the more distant the languages involved.

It has been stressed that translations are not "identical" texts in different languages, but at best approximations in some more or less well-defined respects (Albert 1986; or Ružička 1985). And even when it is disregarded that stylistic "identity" is out of touch with the pratical translator's realities (Shen 1985), the fact remains that - as in our study - some translations are actually undertaken in order to preserve and pass on to another nation culturally alien features (Neubert 1983).

In the present work on "sameness between Danish and English texts", our emphasis on the preservation of cultural features will - to some extent - entail some drawbacks which could be foreseen and were therefore taken into account in our work on the texts. However, they do not constitute "translation errors": we know that non-Greenlanders will be unfamiliar with "flensing", "delousing", and "sleeping platforms", and that the other texts similarly signal their provenance to readers in the know.

II.4 The Procedure for Establishing the "Same" Text in Danish and in English

In Paper 1 (10-11), we outlined the general plan of the project and divided it into different stages.

As far as the selection of tales was concerned, our first step was to select some potentially useful tales from various cultures. They were then translated into Danish, and read by a number of readers. The responses to the individual tale were then used to narrow down the number of tales to one from each culture (Paper 3).

In the next stage - the one which is being discussed here, the texts are set up in (nearly) the "same" form in Danish and English.

II.4.1 Translations for the Selection Study (1983)

Our first step in the selection of texts was then to find select some tales which were authentic in three different cultures. These texts were then translated into modern Danish in 1983.

Table 1 gives a simplified version of how we went about the linguistic work at this stage where the texts were to reach a preliminary form only in Danish.

A SIMPLIFIED TABLE OF THE TEXTUAL WORK IN THE FIRST STAGE OF THE FOLKTALE PROJECT (1983-85)

Number of folktales	Region and country of origin of 'ideal tale'	Recorded in		Procedure for translation into modern Danish and by whom
		Date	Language	
3	Jutland. Denmark	1874-88	Danish (Jutish)	Language modernised and checked by CD 1979-80, and team 83, and experts '85
5	Thule Greenland	1936-37	Eskimo	A phonetic transcript was translated into English by the original recorder. The English translations were used for the Danish versions of the tale by CD
3	Gönen. Northwestern Türkey	1939-62	Turkish	Translated into Danish by Mr. Viron Valasaki.

(For a more detailed description, see Paper 2. April 1985)

The texts translated and modernised for the selection round with Danish students (in 1984/I) were to be used only in that particular part of the study. (Cf. Paper 2: 35-36).

II.4.2 The Definitive Texts (1985).

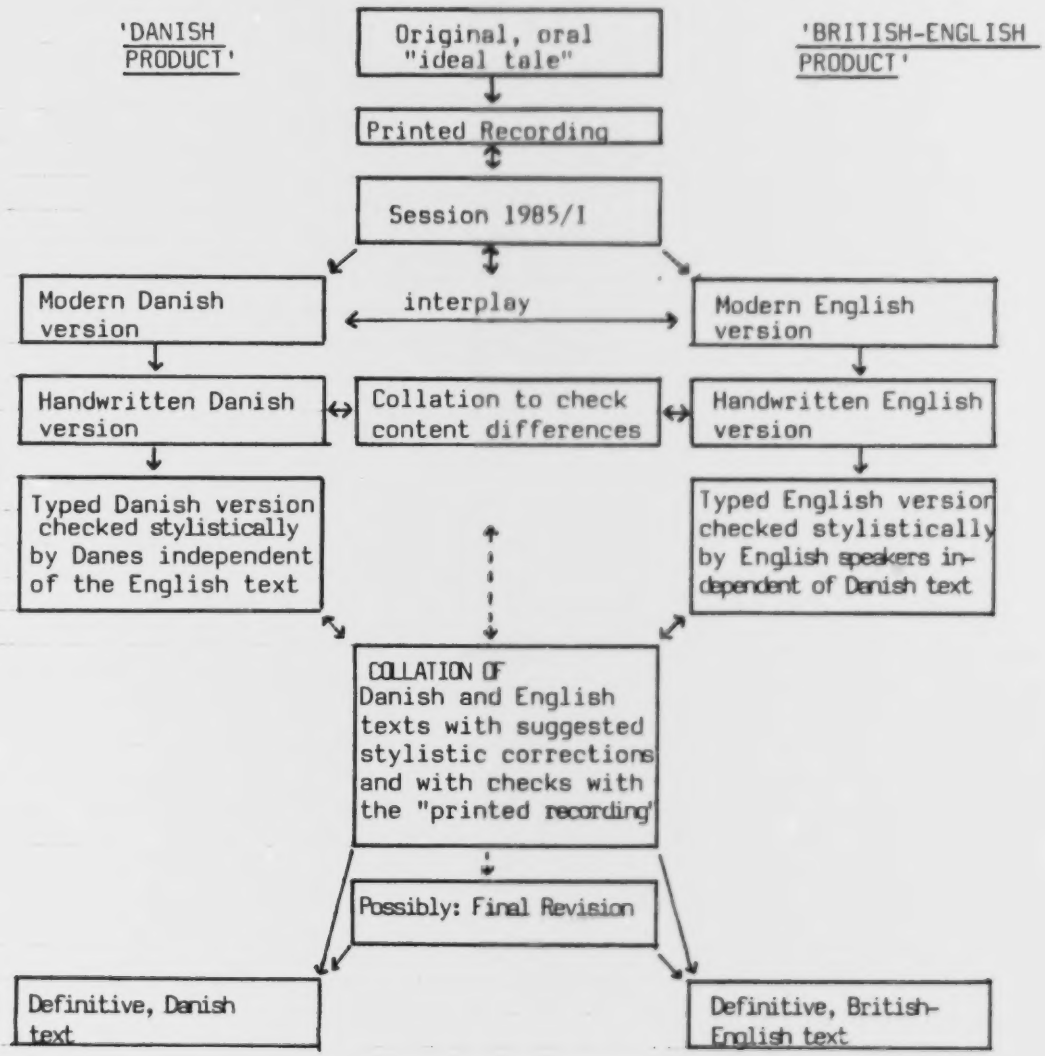
At this stage which we are dealing with here, the texts were prepared for future work in the project, i.e. they were the texts which we would not change in any way after they had reached their definitive form in Danish and English. They represented each of the three cultures involved (Danish, Greenlandic, Turkish), and by our own standard, we must stay as close to the originals and record all "filters" the texts are subjected to as accurately as possible (Paper 1: 16-19; Paper 1: 5-6; Dollerup, Holbek, Reventlow, and Rosenberg Hansen, 1984). In addition we must be sure that these definitive texts were acceptable to native readers of Danish and English.

Accordingly, we must, at a time, return to the versions of the tales which were closest to the "ideal tales", and make sure that they read well in the two modern receptor languages: Danish and English.

A simplified diagramme of the procedure employed for setting up the "same" version in Danish and English with a view to the future work in the project is shown on the next page.

DIAGRAMME

A Simplified Diagramme of the Procedure and Processes for Establishing the "Same" Text in Danish and in English


'DANISH PRODUCT'
Original, oral "ideal tale"
'BRITISH-ENGLISH PRODUCT'
Printed Recording
Session 1985/I
Modern Danish version
interplay
Modern English version
Handwritten Danish version
Collation to check content differences
Handwritten English version
Typed Danish version checked stylistically by Danes independent of the English text
Typed English version checked stylistically by English speakers independent of Danish text
COLLATION OF Danish and English texts with suggested stylistic corrections and with checks with the "printed recording"
Possibly: Final Revision
Definitive, Danish text
Definitive, British-English text

The diagramme illustrates the general principles of

a. carefully retaining as much of the contents of the "original" tale as possible; and

b. of integrating the texts as well as possible in the Danish and the English linguistic systems, so that they read smoothly.

The method employed was to have a session with several people who discussed the text on a word-by-word, sentence-by-sentence and contents basis. They comprised at least one person whose mother language was Danish and one person (usually two) whose native language was British-English. In this session the "original" was decoded, and two new versions, in Danish and in English, were encoded. The guiding principle was to establish a high degree of "content sameness" in the two receptor languages, viz. modern Danish and modern British Englsih.

Afterwards each of these modern versions were checked by native speakers of either language to make them comment on stylistic oddities; these "stylistic revisers" were requested to comment on deviations from what they considered acceptable linguistic norms.

After each stage the texts in Danish and English were checked by two teammembers to make sure that as high a degree of "sameness" as possible was reached.

The texts were typed out for the introspection studies planned in the next stage of the project, where we intended to get a solid coverage of reader responses from various cultures.

II.5 Procedure Used in Folktale in Relation to "Translation"

The point that some of the objectives in orthodox translation must be waived in our context was mentioned above (II.3-4). This goes for the questionable "stylistic fidelity", and for the fact that we are simply not dealing with any orthodox translation method. Thus there is no stable source-language text which is protected by a "droit moral", and which may be read by readers who take an active part in our study.[1] There are, nevertheless, subtle points of similarity and dissimilarity between orthodox translations and the kind of interlingual transmission we have undertaken viz., (A,B,C and D).

A. The first is that both are types of interlingual transmission. Yet, in "Folktale", the transmission was directly from the source text to two receptor languages simultaneously, whereas the act of translation in most cases is into one language at a time. What is more: in "Folktale" we can largely disregard the existence of the "original source-language text", once our receptor language texts are set up. Semantic identity between the Danish and the British texts being of paramount importance to our empirical work, we may legitimately concentrate on making sure that the modern texts are the "same" interlingually. This near-obliteration of the original (which is also imposed by the distance in time and place of the original recordings (i.e. diachronic and cultural factors)) is unthinkable in ordinary translation.

The weakened role of the "real original" also permitted us to make some changes during the linguistic transfer which might have posed problems if we had not known what to do at this stage:

In addition the language should be modern, and follow modern rules of punctuation and spelling.

The second was that the stories should all be written in the past tense: in an earlier study we had found that some readers were taken aback by changes in tenses, apparently because the modern perception of folktales is affected by the stories of the brothers Grimm and Hans Andersen.

Specific stylistic markers that the stories were fiction were deleted in order to make sure that we had no major problems deriving from unnecersarily awkward local styles (the Turkish and the Greenlandic tale both contained repeated markers that this was fiction (mostly in forms)).

Unnecessary repetions were deleted. There were not that many, so in all likelihood they are traces from the original oral form.

B. These slight stylistic changes bring us to the second similarity to translation, viz. that we have to do with a moment where two languages are in contact by means of human decoding and encoding. Unlike the ordinary translation, however, the decoding and encoding were in interplay in our procedure because either of the two versions might be changed to conform with the other.

C. Thirdly like an orthodox translation, the linguistic transmission in the Folktale-project took place as a process limited in time and sparce (namely to a period of app. a month including all checks). But we tried to circumvent several weaknesses in orthodox one-person translation: by having several trained linguists discuss the texts simultaneously; by having the texts collated for content differences; by having them revised by competent native speakers, we strove to obliterate all traces at the linguistic level. Our use of "a dynamic group discussion" is prompted by our experiences with this type of transmission work. In our opinion, it brings out better solutions in intralingual transmission because the participants notice one another's errors, and are inspired to make better approximations by a group approach. This means that there is also a better chance of avoiding "translationalese", i.e. a target language style which is heavily influenced by the source language (See e.g. Jakobsen 1987; Gellerstam 1985; Renauld 1986).

D. Fourthly, our transmissions were subjected to repeated and deliberate control in various ways. And this control was often exerted by others than those involved in the session where the definitive version was first set up.

The first control was in the session itself: the presense of several persons meant that individual errors never passed muster.

The second control was the careful collation on a word-by-word basis undertaken c. one week later by CD and CT to ensure that the Danish and English versions were the "same".

The third control was a stylistic evaluation undertaken by native speakers who were experts in Danish and English, respectively. Neither Danish, ore English, has legislated norms for linguistic usage, so in a way there was no need to have linguists go over the texts. On the other hand we know from previous studies that readers will complain about style, individual words and the like, even with established authors, so we added the "stylistic revision" as a precaution.

The stylistic revisers made few comments on the Danish and the Turkish tales, but several, including some on contents, on the Greenlandic tale. These comments did not take us aback, as we

had been aware of the problem with European readers and the Greenlandic tale before and had discussed it previously (Paper 3: 57-60).

The comments and suggestions made by the "stylistic revisers" were gone over carefully by CD and CT in a session where they also checked with the "closest original" available of each tale. Approximately two thirds of the suggestion and objections led to changes in the texts. Except for two words (see below), the texts had then reached their definitive form.

III. THE INDIVIDUAL TEXTS, THEIR BACKGROUNDS, AND THE PROCEDURE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF "SAMENESS"

III.1 The Danish Tale: Per Smeds Pisk/Per Smed's Whip (1874)

III.1.1 The Narrative and Cultural Background

The "ideal tale" behind the recording was told by the smallholder Mads Thomsen Bæk (1835- c. 1904) to the prominent Danish folklorist Evald Tang Kristensen. Evald Tang Kristensen visited the narrator and his wife 20-22 February 1874 at Brejnholt Hede, Tvis (c. 6 kilometers southeast of the city of Holstebro in Northewest Jutland). In his diary, Evald Tang Kristensen notes that Mads Bæk was a fine narrator and his wife almost equally good. The folklorist stayed overnight with the couple: "it really went on with story-telling, and I was busy writing all day and evening until bedtime. (The next morning) we started again after breakfast" (information from Bengt Holbek).

Mads Bæk's style is terse, subdued, and frequently ironic. The word order is highly idiosyncratic with many inversions, and negations in unusual positions; the language is dialectal.

The themes of the high and mighty who are ultimately punished and the unsuspected and hidden power and wealth of the underdogs, recur in many of Mads Bæk's tales (Holbek 1987).

The story we meet with was originally told by an active storyteller in the last generation where there was a strong, living tradition for storytelling in Denmark (Holbek 1987).

The society is primarily agricultural: we hear of hay-harvesting, of cows and bulls in heat, of planting trees in bad soil, etc. The social system is hierarchal: there is a squire who delegates his power to his steward who manages the daily running of the manor-house, and who has, e.g. people in "socage/glebe" [2] The description of the scene where Per gets home (p. 3 l. 17-20) bears witness to a visualisation of the "stadsestuen", i.e. the main room with both the beds and the table for dinner in it. Despite the appearance of a maid - which was also found at poor farms - the general impression is one of humbleness and hard labour (the word for "paving" ("pikke" p. 1,l. 15) is applied most often to paving indoors with very small stones).

The story cannot be said to be religious. The final forgiveness extended to the adulterous young wife stands out as remarkably lenient, although perhaps realistic under the circumstances. The agricultural society is, nevertheless, highly dominated by male norms.

III.1.2 The Tale in the Project and the Textual Work.

The story was selected as one out of three Danish tales which might be potentially useful for the future work in the project (Paper 2: 13-14); it was then read by 35 Danish readers whose written responses assured us that this tale was best suited for our purposes (Paper 3: 28-38).

The story was modernised for the selection round, but a new modernisation from the printed tale was made and discussed by the project's directors in autumn 1983.

The main object of this modernisation was to reach an agreement on the following points:

(a) linguistically, the tale must read like the other tales in the project, i.e. the language must be up-to-date; this meant that dialectal and archaic expressions such as "nærensind" and "a" were substituted with "bare" (only) and "jeg", ("I"), respectively.

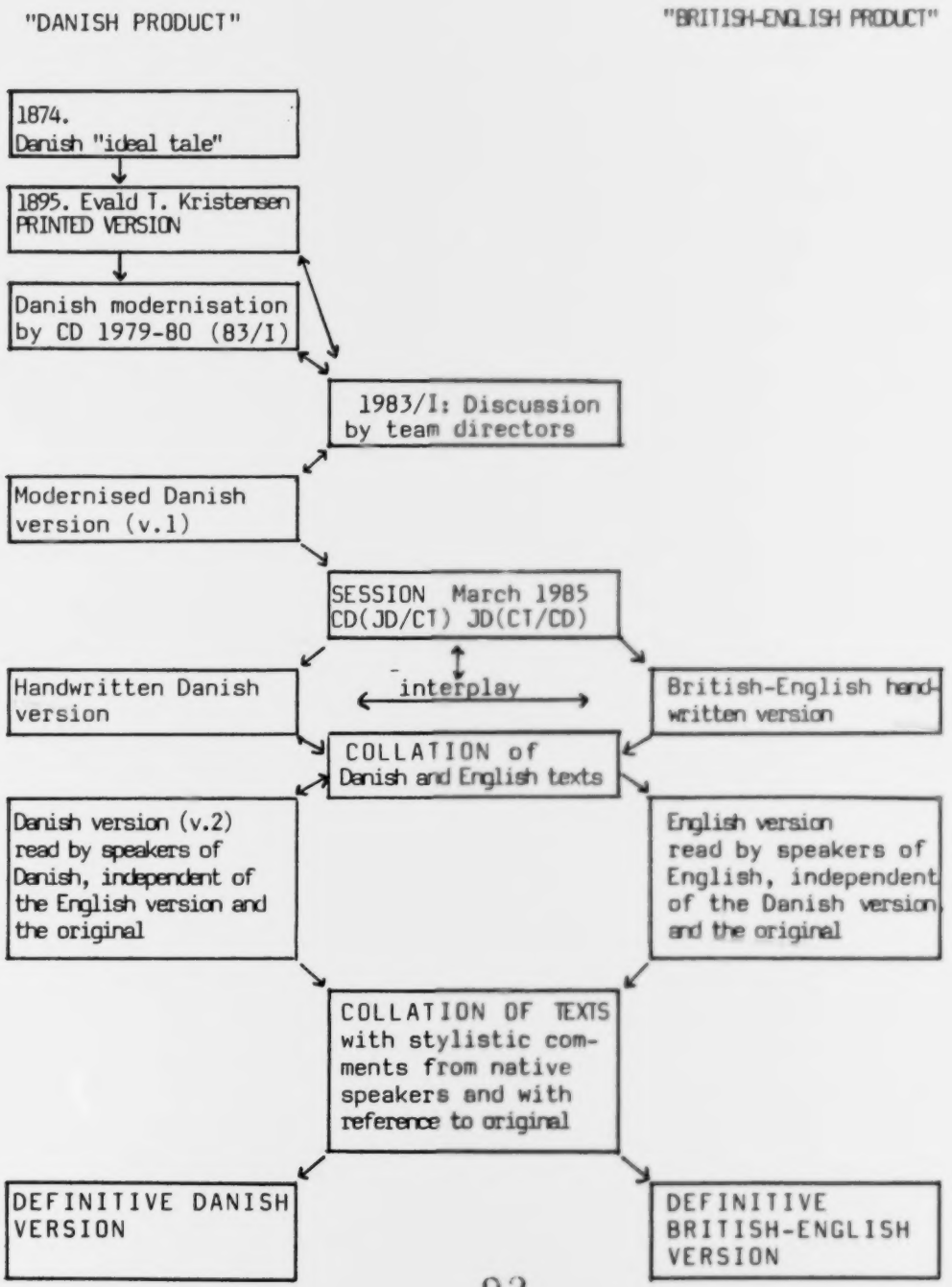
(b) the text must also read as fairly reasonable written Danish. This meant (i) that the story was rewritten consistently in the past tense, instead of alternating between the past and present tenses; (ii) superflous words and awkward sentences were made to conform with written norms ("siger han Per" became "sagde Per"); (iii) pronouns were made less ambigous, and the indiscriminate uses of "the wife" for Per's and the squire's wife; and of "the man" for Per and the squire were clarified; (iv) it was made clearer who made different speeches and the 'oratio tecta' was substituted for more direct speech.

When work on the establishment of the definitive versions started, we did, however, once more return to the original to keep sure that we retained as much as possible of its contents; we also cleared up some questions concerning dialectal words, as well as numismatic usage at the time the tale was originally told.

The procedure used for establishing the "same" texts in Danish and English is shown in the following diagramme.

DIAGRAMME

A DIAGRAMME OF THE PROCESS FOR SETTING UP THE "SAME" VERSIONS IN DANISH AND IN ENGLISH OF THE DANISH FOLKTALE "PER SMED'S WHIP".



In practice, then, the "sameness" at the linguistic and semantic level was established in a primary form at a session on 21 March 1985 (CD native language: Danish-second language: English); Jennifer Draskau and Chris Tinson (both British English (Danish)). At this session most work was based on the modernised Danish version (with a few checks in the old Danish version).

About a week later, the Danish and the Englsih version was collated to check if there were deviations at the linguistic level. The collated version was typed out, and the Danish one was read and commented on by two experts on Danish and the English one by expert native speakers of English.

The comments and suggestions of these "stylistic experts" were discussed and assessed with due reference to the oldest original available, and the definitive version was then typed out.

III.1.3 "Filters" between the Original "Per Smed's Whip" and the One Used in the Project.

At the stylistic level, we know there must have been a "filter" in the recording of the "ideal tale" of 1874: Evald Tang Kristensen's recordings are not verbatim (although he may possibly have used dictation with an expert narrator as Mads Bæk Thomsen). Yet there is no doubt that his manuscript recording is fairly accurate: as mentioned, it is possible to discern the personal style of Mads Bæk Thomsen, the narrator. Given that the narrative contract in the "ideal tale" was between Mads Bæk and two listeners, viz., Evald Tang Kristensen (who recorded) and Mads Bæk's wife (who presumably knew the story already), the loss of the audience reaction is probably not important. On the other hand, the transfer to print constitutes one of the major "filters" in relation to the original "ideal tales".

In 1895 the tale came out, edited by Evald Tang Kristensen. In the printed edition there is one addition to the manuscript: at p. 7,l. 3 Per Smed says "It is a pærtegøj". As mentioned we consider this sentence crucial because links the squire to the steward's abuse of authority; therefore we retained it (cf. Paper 2: 14).

In our session on the establishment of Anglo-Danish versions we retained the stylistic modernisations discussed above. It may also be that the English version occasionally became more colourful than the Danish one: some reports in the introspection study imply so, but it is, really, doubtful if we can use there reports as a yardstick. After all the texts were rendered in British English, not the American English which most of our introspection readers used.

The distance in time to the "ideal tale" meant that some phenomena would be equally incomprehensible to today's Danes and to foreigners.

One was the brief reference to the hands working on the manor-house where we met with the word 'Hovfolkene' i.e.'people in socage, glebe' (p. 6,l. 15). This notion is unfamiliar to Danes - who believe it was legislated away in 1788 - and it is therefore replaced by "people".

The second feature was the reference to the maid's nakedness (p. 5,l. 9-10) which is emphatic in the original. It was toned down not to jar readers unduly as we knew nakedness is not equally acceptable in all cultures.

The third was the passage where the old woman explains to Per what will happen when he gets back home (p. 4,l. 15-18). The original does not explain why Per cannot immediately see that the steward is in bed with his wife (and she therefore tries to lure him to bed to have him killed); to Evald Tang Kristensen and Mads Bæk the scene was obvious when visualised. As the head of the household, Per would sit down at the end of the table standing in the same room as the curtained bed (the "alcove") he himself and his wife used for sleeping. The wife was simply behind the curtains together with the steward. The description in the modern Danish and English versions was therefore changed so that readers would understand that the steward was hiding in the wife's bed.

The last feature concerned the coins mentioned in the text: the courtyard is "paved as if with Specier" (translated; p. 1 l. 8; cf the original); Per receives his renumeration in "Dalers"; and he gives the old woman "three Marks". No Danish coins of these denominations exist today, and Jørgen Steen Jensen of the Numismatic Collection kindly supplied us with information on their value:

The coins went out of use at new year's eve of 1874: so the tale was told the last year the coins existed and had specific values.

The "Specie" (p. 1,l. 8) known to the narrator would be a large silver coin, usually corresponding to two "daler" (e.g. p. 1,l. 10 and 11. 20-21); and, in turn, there would be six "marks" to a "Daler" (p. 2,l. 3), so the old woman receives something like half a "Daler".

There is, then a kind of doubling up, which is complicated by the image of the "Specier" in the pavement: the large silver-coins conjure up a vivid picture of a courtyard paved with stones. It also meant that we could not simply substitute the coins for metal, e.g. "gold", "silver", and "copper" [3] . Instead we chose to render "Specier" as "silver coins/sølvstykker" in English and in Danish; "Daler" were rendered as "daler" in Danish where it is still occasionally used as "two kroner" but as "silver coins" in English. And the "Mark" was preserved in both languages. In order to add some strength to the monetary strand in the tale to make up for the vagueness we had introduced, we inserted a line: "and pay him his money" (p. 3,l. 18-19).[4]

The filter concerning the four points just discussed are diachronic: in handling them we took into account changes in society since the "ideal tale" was told. Some will argue that we have removed the stories from the original. We must counter that we have ensured that the story imparts approximately the same contents to modern readers of the Danish and English versions of the text, as did the original Danish "ideal tale" to its audience. But "linguistically" it is not the "same" of information.

III.1.4 The Text of the Danish Tale, "Per Smed's Whip"

Below is the text of the Danish Tale in English and in Danish.

(A translation of the original Danish version is found in Paper 2: 17-20).

A more legible edition of the tect is given in Paper 6:

PER SMEDS PISK

Der var en gammel mand, som hed Per Smed. Han var enkemand. Så blev han gift igen og fik sig en meget dejlig, ung kone.

Han boede tæt ved en stor herregård; og forvalteren på denne herregård havde fået sådan en lyst til at komme i lag med Per Smeds kone - og det havde hun heller ikke noget imod. Forvalteren og Per Smeds kone snakkede så om, hvordan de bedst kunne få Per Smed af vejen. Forvalteren sagde, at hvis bare hun ikke ville røbe det, skulle han nok få ordnet den sag. "Ja, men du må altså ikke slå ham ihjel," sagde hun, for det syntes hun alligevel var en skam. "Nej, det vil jeg heller ikke. Jeg skal nok få ham af vejen på en pæn måde. Når han kommer hjem, skal du sige til ham, at der er kommet ordre fra herremanden, om at han skal sørge for, at herregårdens gårdsplads er brolagt med små sten, inden der er gået fireogtyve timer - hvis ikke, skal han af med livet. Men kan han få det gjort, skal han få trehundrede daler for det." "Ja, det skal jeg da nok."

Da Per Smed kom hjem, gav konen ham den besked, forvalteren havde bedt hende om. "Nej," sagde Per, "jeg har aldrig lært at brolægge, og jeg har aldrig prøvet det." Så han ville hellere rende sin vej. Han tog nogle penge på lommen og stak af. Det var konen jo glad for, for hun mente, at når han var rendt væk, fik de ikke nogen ulejlighed med at få ham af vejen.

På sin flugt kom Per ind i en skov, hvor han mødte en gammel kone, som spurgte ham om, hvor han ville hen. Han svarede, at han var stukket af, fordi han havde fået ordre på at brolægge herremandens gård, inden der var gået fireogtyve timer; og

Per Smed's Whip

There was an old man called Per Smed. He was a widower. Then he married again and he got himself a very beautiful young wife.

He lived close by a great manor; and the steward of this manor had come to have lustful designs on Per Smed's wife - and she for her part had nothing against it. So the steward and Per Smed's wife discussed together how they might best get rid of Per Smed. The steward said that as long as she promised not to tell, he would take care of the matter. "All right, but you musn't kill him," she said, for she thought that would be a shame. "No, I won't do that. I'll get rid of him in a decent way. When he comes home, you tell him that the squire has given orders that he is to see to it that the manor court-yard is all paved with little stones before twenty four hours have passed, otherwise he is to forfeit his life. But if he can get it done, he will be given three hundred pieces of silver." "Good, I'll take care of that, then."

When Per Smed came home, the wife gave him the message as the steward had asked her to. "No," Per said "I've never learnt how to pave, and I've never tried it." So he chose to run away. He put some money in his pocket and fled. His wife was pleased, because she thought that now he had run away they wouldn't have to bother about getting rid of him.

In full flight Per came to a forest and there he met an old woman who asked him where he was going. He answered that he was running away because he had been ordered to pave the squire's court-yard before twenty four hours had passed; and

hvis han ikke fik gjort det, skulle han af med livet, og det ville han jo nødig miste. Så sagde hun: "Nej, det er der ingen fare for. Hvis du giver mig tre mark, kan du bare gå hen til herregården imorgen tidlig, så skal gården nok være brolagt."

Det var ikke underligt, han ville det. Så Per vendte om og gik hjem. Om morgenen, da Per Smed kom til herregården, var gårdspladsen så blank, som var den brolagt med lutter sølvmønter. Per for hen og bankede på - han ville have sine trehundrede daler!

Så tænkte forvalteren: "Hvordan pokker kunne han gøre det." Og han begyndte at blive bange for, at Per Smed kunne hekse.

"Men jeg skal nok sætte ham til noget, han ikke kan gøre," tænkte forvalteren.

Der var et frygteligt sumpet morads rundt omkring gården, så forvalteren sagde til Pers kone, at hun skulle fortælle Per, at han havde fået ordre til at beplante moradset, sådan at der var en hel skov i stedet - inden der var gået fireogtyve timer, ellers skulle han af med livet; men kunne han gøre det, skulle han få sekshundrede daler.

Da Per Smed kom hjem til konen, sagde hun det til ham. "Nej," sagde Per, "det kan jeg ikke. Jeg har aldrig i mine dage lært at plante, og jeg har aldrig prøvet det." "Ja, så skal du jo af med livet," sagde hun. Per besluttede, at så ville han løbe sin vej. Så han rendte ud til skoven igen.

I skoven traf han igen den gamle kone, og hun spurgte ham, hvor han nu ville hen? Han sagde, han ville rende væk, for nu

if he failed, he was to forfeit his life, and he didn't want to die. She said: "Don't let that worry you. If you give me three marks, you can just go to the manor tomorrow morning, and you'll find the court-yard paved."

Well, of course Per agreed - and no wonder! He turned in his tracks and went home. In the morning when Per Smed went to the manor, the court-yard was gleaming as though it had been paved all over with silver coins. Per rushed over and knocked at the door - he wanted his three hundred pieces of silver!

Then the steward thought: "How the devil did he manage it?" And he began to be afraid that Per Smed could do things by magic.

"But I'll give him a task he will never be able to do," thought the steward.

Now all around the manor-house there lay a great boggy marsh, so the steward told Per's wife to tell him that he had been ordered to plant the marsh with trees so that before twenty four hours had passed, there would be a wood where the marsh had been - otherwise he was to forfeit his life; but if he could do it, he would be given six hundred pieces of silver.

When Per Smed came home to his wife, she gave him the message. "No" Per said, "I can't do that. I've never in my life learnt how to plant trees, and I've never tried it." "Well, you'll forfeit your life, then," she said. Per decided that in that case he would run away. So he fled into the forest once more.

In the forest he met the old woman again, and she asked him where he was off to this time? He said he was running away

skulle han beplante det morads, der var rundt omkring herregården med skov inden næste morgen tidlig; og gjorde han det ikke, skulle han af med livet. Men det var helt umuligt - det kunne han ikke. Hun sagde: "Hvis du giver mig tre mark, kan du gå hjem, og imorgen tidlig kan du gå hen til herregården. Men pas på, du ikke går vild, for der vil være sådan en tyk rimtåge, og der vil jo blive mange træer at gå imellem fra dit hus og hen til herregården.

Per Smed gik så hjem igen til konen. Hun blev ikke særlig glad for at se ham, men hun lod sig ikke mærke med noget. Han gik og var ikke så lidt spændt på at se, hvad det ville blive til med træerne. Om morgenen var han tidligt oppe, for hvis de ikke var kommet, ville han jo stikke af igen for ikke at miste livet. Men da han kom ud, var hans hus helt omgivet af træer, og hele stykket til herregården og rundt om den, hvor sumpen havde været, var også tæt beplantet med træer. Han tog straks af sted til herregården; han måtte være meget påpasselig for ikke at gå vild, sådan en tåge var der. Og han bankede forvalteren op: han skulle komme at bese arbejdet og betale ham pengene.

Nu troede forvalteren ikke længere, at der var nogen mulighed for at få Per af vejen på en pæn måde. Men han gik alligevel og spekulerede, og en dag kom han hen til Pers kone og sagde, at de trods alt skulle prøve endnu engang: når Per kom hjem skulle hun bilde ham ind, at der var kommet befaling om, at han skulle lave en pærtegøj - og det skulle være en, folk ville more sig over, når de så den. Så Pers kone sagde til ham, at han skulle lave en pærtegøj inden fireogtyve timer, og hvis han ikke lavede den, skulle han miste livet. Men han ville få nihundrede daler, hvis han kunne lave

because now he had been ordered to turn the marshland around the manor into a wood before the next day dawned; and if he failed, he was to die. But it was an impossible task - he couldn't do it. She said: "If you give me three marks, you can go home again, and tomorrow morning you can go to the manor. But take care not to lose your way, because there will be a thick icy mist, and you will have to pass through many trees on the way from your house to the manor-house."

So Per Smed went back home to his wife. She was none too pleased to see him, but she didn't show it. He couldn't help wondering the whole time what was going to happen about the trees. The next morning he rose early, for if there were no trees in the marsh, he intended to run away again so as not to lose his life. But when he went outside, his house was completely surrounded by trees, and all the land between, right up to and all around the manor house where the marsh had been before, was now thick with trees. He set off at once for the manor; he had to take great care not to lose his way, for there was such a heavy mist. He knocked at the door to wake up the steward: he wanted him to inspect the work and pay him his money.

Now the steward no longer believed he would be able to get rid of Per in a decent way. But still he went on racking his brains, and one day he went to Per's wife and said they would give it another try, anyway. When Per came home she was to tell him that he had been ordered to make a pertegoy which would amuse everyone who saw it. So Per's wife told him he was to make a pertegoy before twenty four hours had passed, and if he failed, he was to forfeit his life. But if he succeeded, he would be given 900 pieces of

Folktale 4:28

den. Per sagde, at sådan en kunne han ikke lave, for han havde aldrig i sine dage set en pærtegøj og heller ikke hørt tale om den. Så han ville rende sin vej, for han ville jo nødig miste livet.

Nu var han bange for, at han ikke skulle træffe den gamle kone denne gang, for han ville gerne snakke med hende om den pærtegøj. Men han var igen så heldig, at han traf hende, da han kom til skoven. Så spurgte hun ham ud som sædvanlig, og han fortalte hende, hvad der var i vejen.

Denne gang skulle han blive lidt hos hende, sagde hun. Hun fortalte ham, at det var forvalteren, han kunne takke for det altsammen, for han ville i lag med hans kone. Det var derfor, de begge gjorde deres bedste for at få ham slået ihjel eller også få ham til at stikke af. "Nu vil jeg have tre mark til af dig," sagde hun, "og så vil jeg give dig en pisk. Så længe den pisk er hel, går det du siger i opfyldelse; men når du brækker den, så gælder det ikke længere. Når du nu kommer hjem, er forvalteren skjult i sengen hos din kone, og så vil hun have dig hen til sengen. Men lad være. Du skal sætte dig ved bordenden og ryge på din pibe. På et tidspunkt bliver din kone trængende og skal have fat i potten; når hun så vil stille den igen, skal du tage pisken og give hende et lille rap, mens du siger: "Hold fast!" Og du skal sige "Hold fast!" til alt, hvad der tager ved, indtil din pærtegøj er færdig." Så gav Per Smed hende de tre mark og drog hjemad med sin pisk.

Han kom ind og satte sig for bordenden og tændte sin pibe. Så sagde konen henne i sengen: "Er det dig, lille Per, der er kommet?" "Ja, det er det," svarede han. Hun spurgte, om han ikke ville i seng til hende og få en smule varme. "Er du ikke

silver. Per said he couldn't do that, because he had never seen a pertegoy in his life, or even heard of a pertegoy. So he would run away, because he didn't want to lose his life.

Now he was afraid that this time he might not meet the old woman; he wanted to talk to her about the pertegoy. But again luck was on his side and he met her when he came to the forest. She questioned him as usual, and he told her what was wrong.

This time she told him to stay with her for a while. She told him that it was the steward he had to thank for all that had happened, because the steward had lustful designs on Per's wife. That was why the two of them were doing their best to have him killed or else to get him to run away. "Now you give me another three marks" said she "and I'll give you a whip. So long as the whip is in one piece, everything you say will come to pass; but when you break the whip, the spell is broken. When you get home, the steward will be hiding in the bed with your wife, and she'll try to get you over to the bed. But don't you go. You sit down at the head of the table and smoke your pipe. After a while your wife will need to relieve herself and she'll reach for the chamber-pot; when she wants to put it back again, you must take the whip, flick her with it and say: "Hold on!" and you must say "Hold on!" to anything that touches it, until your pertegoy is finished." Per Smed gave the old woman her three marks and set off home with his whip.

He went inside, sat down at the head of the table and lit his pipe. His wife called from the bed: "Is that you, Per dear? Are you there?" "It is," he replied. She asked him if he wouldn't get into bed with her for a bit of warmth. "Aren't

kold?" Nej, sagde han, han ville ikke, for han sad jo og røg.

Endelig blev hun trængende og skulle have fat i potten - det var jo det, han sad og ventede på. Da hun ville stille den væk, sagde Per: "Hold fast!" og så kunne hun pludselig ikke slippe den og lå der og hev og sled i potten. Da hun mærkede, at hun ikke kunne blive af med den, gav hun sig til at huje efter tjenestepigen, der var i et kammer ved siden af. Pigen havde taget alt tøjet af og kom springende ind i det bare ingenting. Da hun så, at det ikke var andet end kællingen, der lå og slog med potten, blev hun vred og gav konen en på hovedet - og hun greb fat i potten og ville rive den fra konen. "Hold fast!" sagde Per. Så stod de begge to der og rykkede og hev med den fra side til side.

Nu lå forvalteren jo i sengen, og han syntes, at det var nogle værre pjok, der ikke kunne slippe af med den potte. Han sprang ud af sengen og greb fat i potten og ville rive den fra dem for at slå den i stykker. "Hold fast!" sagde Per Smed, og så stod forvalteren der med de andre.

Nu gik Per Smed hen med sin pisk og gav dem nogle over nakken, og det var forvalteren, der fik flest hug. Så jog han alle tre ud af døren, og han drog af med dem hen over en indhegning, hvor der havde gået nogle karle og slået græs nogle dage. Der greb pigen en håndfuld græs og satte det imellem benene - hun syntes, hun var så bar. "Hold fast!" sagde Per Smed.

you cold?" No, he said, he wouldn't come to bed; he was smoking his pipe.

After a while she needed to relieve herself and reached for the chamber-pot - and that was just what Per had been waiting for. As she was about to put the pot away, Per said: "Hold on!" and then suddenly she couldn't get rid of the pot and rolled around struggling and heaving at it. When she found she was stuck she began yelling for the maid, who was in a small room next door. The maid had taken all her clothes off and she came rushing in stark naked. When she saw that it was just her silly mistress thrashing about with the chamber-pot, she lost her temper and fetched her a clout on the head - and she grabbed hold of the pot and tried to pull it out of the other woman's hands. "Hold on!" said Per. So there the two of them were tugging and pulling at the pot, first this way and then that.

All this time the steward had been lying in the bed, and he thought to himself that they were a couple of weaklings not being able to get rid of that pot. He leapt out of bed and tried to snatch it from them and smash it to pieces. "Hold on!" said Per Smed, and the steward got stuck with the others too.

Then Per Smed went up to them with his whip and gave them a sound thrashing, with the steward coming off worst. Then Per drove all three of them out of the house before him, and he set off with them across a field where some men had been cutting grass for several days. The maid seized a handful of grass and thrust it between her legs, for she felt so naked. "Hold on!" said Per Smed.

Folktale 4:30

Så drev han dem igen et stykke og ind i en indhegning til nogle gamle køer, hvor der kun var lidt græs. En af køerne opdagede den store dusk græs på pigen og gik hen for at tage den. "Hold fast!" sagde Per. Så den kom også til at følge med.

Lidt efter kom de ind i en indhegning til, hvor der gik nogle tyre. En af dem sprang op på koen - den troede vel, at den var tyregal. "Hold fast!" sagde Per, og så jog han dem allesammen op til herregården. Da de kom derop, så folkene den her lange redelighed, der kom slæbende, og de skraldgrinede ad det hele.

Det hørte herremanden; han kunne ikke forstå, hvor forvalteren var, siden ingen havde sat folkene i arbejde. Så han sprang ud af sengen og ville se efter. Da så han, at forvalteren stod ude på gårdspladsen og rykkede i det her. Han sprang i noget undertøj og for ud. Det kan nok være han var vred og langede forvalteren en på hovedet, så han kunne mærke det. "Hvad står du der og rykker og slider på sådan noget for? Hvorfor går du ikke hen og sætter folkene i arbejde?" "Jamen, jeg kan ikke slippe det," sagde forvalteren. Så sprang herremanden til og greb i forvalteren og ville rive ham løs. "Hold Fast!" sagde Per Smed, og der stod herremanden.

Nu kunne herremandens kone ikke forstå, hvor hendes mand blev af. Han var rendt ud i undertøj og var ikke kommet tilbage. Hun gik ud for at se efter ham og opdagede, at han stod der henne og rykkede i forvalteren. Så løb hun hen og greb fat i ham, for han måtte da endelig følge med hende ind, for han stod jo og frøs. "Hold fast!" sagde Per Smed.

Then he drove them a little further and into a field where there were some old cows and not much grass. One of the cows caught sight of the big tuft of grass on the girl, and sauntered over to eat it. "Hold on!" said Per. So now the cow had to go along too!

A little later they came to a field where there were some bulls. One of them jumped on the cow's back - probably thinking it was in season. "Hold on!" said Per, and then he drove the whole lot of them before him all the way to the manor. When they got there, the farm hands saw this amazing straggling procession, and laughed till they cried.

The sound reached the ears of the squire; he could not understand where his steward could be, seeing that nobody had set the people to work. So he jumped out of bed to go and see what was going on. He saw the steward standing out in the court-yard tugging and pulling at the thing. He pulled on his underclothes and rushed out. He was in a fine old rage and gave the steward a resounding box on the ear. "What are you doing standing here tugging and pulling like that? Why don't you go and set the people to work?" "But I can't let go!" the steward cried. Then the squire grabbed the steward and tried to pull him free. "Hold on!" said Per Smed, and so there the squire was.

Now the squire's wife couldn't understand what was keeping her husband. He had run out in his underclothes and hadn't come back. She went out to look for him and discovered him standing there tugging at the steward. So she ran up and took hold of him, wanting to get him to go inside with her, because he was standing there freezing with cold. "Hold on!" said Per Smed.

I det samme fik herremanden øje på Per Smed: "Goddag, min gode Per Smed!" sagde han, "er det dig, der har samlet det her?" "Ja, det er - det er en pærtegøj!" Han spurgte, om Per kunne skille den lige så godt ad for ham, som han havde samlet den for ham? Det kunne Per, hvis han fik attenhundrede daler - og herremanden så enten ville skyde forvalteren eller smide ham på porten. Det lovede herremanden.

Så brækkede Per sin pisk i stykker, og så kunne de komme fra hinanden. Alle skyndte sig at rende hjem, så hurtigt de kunne. Per Smed, hans kone og pigen rendte hjemad; forvalteren gik hen og satte folkene i arbejde; og herremanden gik ind med sin hustru. Og da han var kommet i tøjet gik han ud og sagde til forvalteren, at nu kunne han rejse hvorhen han ville - han ville ikke have ham længere. Så siden den tid kunne Per Smed have sin kone i fred, og de kom fortrinligt ud af det med hinanden.

At that moment the squire caught sight of Per Smed: "Good day, my good Per Smed!" he said. "Is it you who have stuck all this together?" "Yes, it is - it is a pertegoy!" He asked whether Per could get the thing unstuck for him just as well as he had stuck it together for him. Per said he could, on condition that he got eighteen hundred pieces of silver - and that the squire promised to shoot the steward, or send him packing. The squire gave Per his word.

Then Per broke his whip and they were all able to get free at last. They all hurried off home as fast as their legs could carry them. Per Smed, his wife and their maid ran home; the steward went about setting the people to work; and the squire went inside with his wife. And when he had put on his clothes he went out and told the steward he should leave the place - he no longer wanted him there. So ever afterwards Per Smed had his wife all to himself, and the two of them got along very well indeed.

III.2 The Greenlandic Tale: Qilugtûssat/"The Pleiads"/The Barking Ones = De gøende (1937)

III.2.1 The Narrative and Cultural Background

The "ideal tale" behind the recording was told by the Greenlandic woman Amaunalik to the Danish folklorist Erik Holtved. Erik Holtved first collected some tales from among the polar Eskimos at Thule in Nothern Greenland by dictation in 1936 before he started to take records in the spring of 1937. The printed version is phonetic and we must therefore assume that a dictation - if any - was superseded or supplanted by a disc-recording made in the hut of the local radio station at Thule in 1937.

Amaunalik was born in 1907 and her forefathers were among the Eskimoes who had crossed over from Canada in the 1860ies. She was married to Qavigaq and was the mother of nine children. She was the outstanding local storyteller, and she had learned her stories from her grandmother. Her manner of narration was very vivid (Holtved, 1; 14-15). It is tempting to assume that some features in the story point to her: the protagonist is a woman. And although "the gall" (p. 1,l. 25) is a common Inuit symbol of animal strength, the idea of using it for fuel for cooking appears to be an inside joke.[5] The story is deeply imbued with its special cultural background: The Thule community consisting of Polar Eskimoes numbered about around 250 persons at the time: they lived in the district around the missionary school from 1909 and the trading station founded by Knud Rasmussen in 1910. There had been contacts with Europeans, viz. whalers and traders in summertime since 1818, but by and large the community was unaffected by Europeans when the tales were recorded.

The polar Eskimoes still used earth or turf huts for winter quarters, and by means of dog-drawn sledges, they hunted seal and walrus all the year round (Salmonsen, articles: "Grønland/Polareskimoer/Thule").

In the story we meet with hunting on dog-drawn sledges, with polar bears, as well as with seals which are flensed. The

lifestyle with delousing and, cooking over a small lamp is primitive. And the bear's hut is clearly the Greenland type of winter quarters.

Indirectly, the story also takes for granted the low barren mountains of Greenland, and the proximity of the sea.

All told, we get a picture of a primitive hunting society in which religious beliefs are animalistic and intimately connected with natural phenomena, and where death and violence are part of everyday life.

III.2.2 The Tale in the Project and the Textual Work.

The story was selected as one of the Greenlandic/Inuit stories which might be used for future work in the project, and - after some deliberations - it was chosen as the one best suited for our purposes (Paper 2: 35-36; Paper 3: 39-49, 56-60).

The collector, Erik Holtved, translated the story into English, and a translation of Holtved's English version served in the selection round.

It was, however, the phonetic transcript which served for establishing the "same" versions in Danish and in English.

The phonetic transcript was made by Holtved from the disc-record of 1937. In 1946 he returned to Thule to check on his recordings; still, there is an off chance that he misheard something as there is no written language. Despite this hypothetical shortcoming, the text is unquestionably the most authentic one in the project in terms of "linguistic utterances". Of course, it is by no means identical with the "ideal tale": thus we miss the dramatic displays made by Holtved's informants who acted as if they were telling their tales to a listening crowd.

The primary form of the "same" text in Danish and English was set up at a session on 20 March 1985 with Michael Fortescue (Greenlandic/English (Danish)), Jennifer Draskau and CT (British English (Danish), and CD (Danish, English).

The Danish versions and English versions were collated by CD

and CT for a final check of linguistic deviations. The texts were then given to native speakers of the two languages for, as stylistic revision - and their comments also concerned the contents in this case.

The comments by the "stylistic revisers" were then used for setting up the third version of the text in a collation with Holtved's English transcript by CD and CT. After some of the introspection studies had taken place, we realised that we had overlooked the fact that Amaunalik thought only of polar bears, while non-Greenlanders might visualise black, brown or white bears and thus get a wrong idea of the location: By July 1985 we made it clear that the story was about "polar bears". In order not to compound the confusion, this change was made only in the texts for the foreign essay studies, while we retained the "bears" in the texts used in the introspection studies which were nearly finished,and the essay studies in Denmark which had taken place, when we made the change.

III.2.3 The "Filters" between the "Ideal Tale" and the One in the Project

In previous papers we have discussed what we saw as the problematic features in the Greenlandic tales. Not only is it very terse, but it also connects closely with some culturally bound norms that jar many readers, including ourselves. This goes for the animalistic features, for the lack of causality, for the acceptance of violence and death. Some things are possibly unknown to people without a Greenlandic culture. But then we must accept that at one stage in time and space in a specific culture, the story was worth telling; so to reject it because we do not appreciate it, is to fall into the trap of ethnocentricity: our Greenlandic readers in the introspection study liked it (see p. 3: 59). Our awareness of the ethnocentric pitfall may in turn, be a weakness, as it made us keep "adaptions" to a minium.

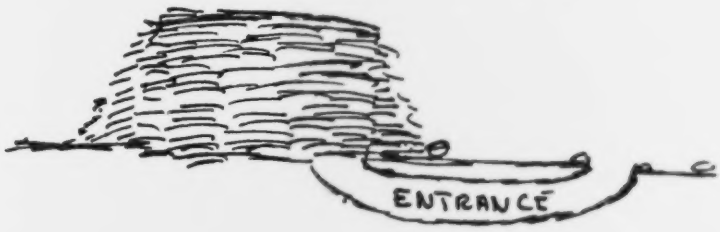
In terms of "filters" it affected our work : we preserved the terseness of the story as part and parcel of the recording.

In our rendition in Danish and English we dispensed with the markers of fiction implied in the verbal forms as the story itself is a narrative.

A few repetitive sentences or expressions were dropped.

The description of the underground entrance passage to the bear's turf house was made more vague, as this type of winter quarters are out of use and unfamiliar even to modern Greenlanders. For the benefit of our readers we will, however, illustrate these old houses:

SKETCH of a Greenlandic Turf Hut and Its Entrance



All told, then, the "filters" have been few, and we have shown fidelity towards the original. Perhaps the truth about the European responses to the story is best covered by the following exchange between the famous Danish Arctic explorer Knud Rasmussen and an Eskimo in c. 1922 after the Eskimo had had told a singularly pointless story:

"What on earth does that story mean?" (Knud Rasmussen asked the Eskimo): "I find the ending odd."

And the Eskimo answered: "We do not demand that our stories always have a meaning as long as they are fun. It's only white men who want to know why and how. That is why our wise men tell us to treat white men as children who always want to get their

way. If they don't, they get angry and scold. Now, before we go to sleep, I shall tell you another story which makes even less sense, but which we still find good". (Den store slæderejse: 102).

III.2.4 The Text of the Greenlandic Tale: The Barking Ones

On the following pages we reprint the English and the Danish versions of the tale that were used in the introspection studies. The modified English translation was printed in Paper 2: 25-26. A more legible form of the final text is given in Paper 6.

De gaende

Der var engang et ægtepar, der kom op at slås. Da manden havde gennembanket konen, løb hun ud i bjergenes ensomhed.

Hun gik længe.

Pludselig befandt hun sig foran indgangen til et stort hus. Inde i indgangen var der en stor bjørn, der begyndte at snuse ad hende; det var et stort bjørneskind, der hang der. Hun hørte nogen kalde inde fra huset: "Kom bare ind, det gør dig ikke noget!"

Hun passerede skindet, mens de to store næsebor snusede i et væk. Skindet tilhørte en stor bjørn, der havde antaget menneskeskikkelse, og som levede der med sine unger. Nu var hun altså i deres hus.

Efter nogen tid sagde den store bjørn til hende: "Hold du nu mine to børn med selskab, så henter jeg jer noget mad." Så gik den ud og blev længe væk.

Da den kom tilbage havde den en stor sæl i munden. Bjørnen bar sælen ind i huset og begyndte at flænse og partere den, og da den var færdig gav den dem store lunser med meget spæk på at spise. Som menneske var kvinden ikke vant til at spise sælspæk, så hun skar det af. Da børnene så det, sagde de: "Læg spækket på igen!" Bjørnemoderen sagde til sine to børn: "Spis det nu bare som det er, ligesom menneskene gør." For i stedet for sælspæk brugte bjørnen sin egen galde som brændstof til sin lampe til madlavning.

Eng v. 3 s. 1

"The Barking Ones"

Once upon a time there was a married couple who began to fight. When her husband beat her up, the wife ran away into the solitude of the mountains.

She walked for a long time.

Suddenly she found herself in front of the entrance to a large house. From within the entrance a great bear began to sniff at her; it was a great bearskin hanging there. She heard someone calling from within the house. "Come on in, it won't hurt you!"

She went past the skin, its great nostrils sniffing all the while. She went through the passage into the house. The skin belonged to a great bear which had taken human form, and which lived there with its young ones. She was now in their house.

At length the great bear said to her: "Now keep my two children company, and I will fetch you some food." Then it went out, and didn't come back for a long time.

When it returned it was carrying a large seal in its mouth. The bear brought the seal into the house and began to flense it and cut it up, and when it had finished it gave them large chunks with a lot of blubber on to eat. Being human, the woman was not accustomed to eating seal blubber, so she cut it off. When the children saw this, they said:"Put the blubber back on The mother bear said to her two children: "Just eat it as it is as humans do." For instead of seal blubber, the bear used its own gall to feed the lamp it was cooking over.

Kvinden blev hos dem nogen tid som en kær gæst, men til sidst begyndte hun at føle, at hun skulle tage væk. Bjørnen sagde til hende: "Lad være at fortælle nogen om os. Jeg er bange på mine stakkels små børns vegne, fordi de stadig er så unge." Det gik hun ind på: "Jeg skal nok holde mund!" Hun gik ud og drog hjemad.

Hun skyndte sig hjem, så hurtigt hun kunne og tog tilbage til sin familie. Hun lagde sig ned på briksen og sagde til sin mand: "Lad mig luse dig af," og lod som om hun virkelig også havde lyst til det. Hun begyndte at luse ham af, og bøjede sig frem og hviskede i hans øre: "Jeg er stødt på nogle bjørne. Jeg mødte dem noget borte." Hendes mand blev meget ivrig og han råbte: "Hun siger hun har mødt nogle bjørne noget borte!" Mændene skyndte sig at gøre sig klar og begyndte at drage af sted. Den stakkels kvinde spurgte: "Hvor kan jeg dog gemme mig?" - "Under briksen i rummet ved siden af." Hun krøb ind under briksen og skjulte sig, som hun havde fået besked på. Så tog mændene af sted.

Da de var taget væk, nærmede der sig en stor bjørn. Den kom helt hen til huset og gik ind. Her spurgte den en gammel mand: "Hvor er hun, stakkelen?" Manden pegede bare mod stedet hvor hun gemte sig under briksen. Bjørnen trak hende frem og slæbte hende af sted ved håret, mens den med vilddyrets raseri bed i hendes pelshue. Da den havde fået hende udenfor, rev den hovedet af hende, og smed hendes stakkels krop på møddingen. Den sparkede en smule rundt med hovedet og bar det så bort.

The woman stayed with them for a while as their welcome guest, but at last she began to feel she should be going. The bear said to her: "Don't tell anyone about us. I'm afraid for my poor little children, because they are still so young." She agreed. "I won't say a word." She went out and set off homewards.

She made her way home as fast as she could, and went back to her family. Lying down on the sleeping platform she said to her husband: "Let me de-louse you", pretending she really wanted to. She began to de-louse him, and leaned over and whispered in his ear: "I came across some bears. I met them some way from here." Her husband became very excited and he cried out: "She says she's met bears, some way from here!" The men rushed to get ready and started to leave. She, poor creature, asked: "Wherever can I hide?" "Under the platform in the side-room." She crept under the platform and hid, as she had been told. Then the men set off.

When they were gone a great bear approached. It came right up and entered the house. Here it asked an old man: "Where is she, the poor thing?" The man just pointed towards where she was hiding under the platform. The bear pulled her out and dragged her along by the hair, sinking its teeth savagely into her fur hood. When it had got her outside, it tore off her head and slung her poor body onto the rubbish heap. It kicked the head around for a bit and then bore it away.

Da hundene så bjørnen sparke til hovedet, begyndte de at jagte den. De blev ved med at jagte den alt hvad de kunne, og til sidst begyndte bjørnen at stige til vejrs, mens den stadig blev ved at spille fodbold med den stakkels kvindes hoved. Hundene, der var lige i hælene, steg også til himmels og blev til stjernebilledet "De gående".

Kort efter kom jægerne tilbage med deres slæder. De havde kun fundet de to bjørneunger, som deres mor havde slået ihjel med et slag i baghovedet, fordi de ikke kunne følge med. Det var det eneste de fik med hjem fra jagten.

Sådan gik det til at den stakkels kvinde blev dræbt.

NOTE: The definitive version has "isbjørn" at all the places underlined.

The dogs, seeing the bear kicking the head, began to give chase. They kept up the chase with all their might and at last the bear began to rise into the air, still playing football with the poor woman's head. The dogs, following close behind, rose into the sky also, turning into the constellation of "The Barking Ones".

Shortly afterwards the hunters returned with their sledges. They had found only the two bear-cubs, which the mother had killed with a blow to the back of the head, because they couldn't keep up. This was all they brought home with them from the hunt.

This is how that poor woman came to be killed.

NOTE: the definitive version has "polar bear" instead of bear at all the places undelined.

III.3 The Turkish Text: Alti kiz babasi - The Golden Apple, Guldæblet (1939)

III.3.1 The Narrative and Cultural Background

The "ideal tale" behind the recording was narrated in 1939 by Ms Emine of Gönen - a Turkish township with c. 10.000 (1958) inhabitants. Gönen is situated in North Western Turkey, c. 10 kilometers from the Marmara Sea, and c. 50 kilometers from Bursa. The tale was taken down by Mr Kemal Cig, a student of the well-known Turkish folklorist Pertev Boratav, who printed it in a collection of Turkish folktales, Iz qittik uz qittik 1969.

In his notes, Boratav informs us (p. 379) that Ms Emine - who was c. 50 years of age - was nicknamed "Telçi". This means "cord, string" and the like. It is tempting to believe that she must have been in the clothes' trade, perhaps a vendor of strings and sewing threads, or perhaps, connected with the silk industry in the area: the ending words of the tale: "Beyoglu's father bought a draper's shop for his son" might thus reflect her own dreams about the highest ambitions come true. And, of course, it is interesting that the protagonist is a girl.

Some features in the tale may point towards the area where Gönen is situated, not so far from the sea: the bridge, the river, (p. 3,l. 12-13) and, perhaps the palace; but it is hard to be sure.

Other features refer specifically to Turkish - and of course, Osmanic - phenomena. One of them is the "coffee-house" (e.g. p. 1 l.3) in which the story starts. Others connect with the names: "Beygolu" (e.g. p. 2,l. 12) is a composite name of "bey" = rich or wealthy man + "oglu" = son. And "Ali Sagdik" (p. 3,l. 11) was the term for the experienced companion of a bride or bridegroom at weddings in olden times.[6]

The society in the story is dominated by male norms: it is ignoble and ridiculous to have no male off-spring. The father is approached for marriage; the lover tests the girl; and a girl

must disguise herself as a man in order to get along. Conversely, there is a strong undercurrent that women exert strong influence on men: the youngest daughter makes her father take her advice; the girl receives help from an old woman (a white witch); the male protagonist follows the advice of his mother; and it is similarly an old woman - a sorceress - who is instrumental in bringing the two young people together.

The religion is Islamic, most obviously so in the references to Allah, but also, to some extent at least, the role of women, and the pun on prayers/having craps.

III.3.2 The Turkish Tale in the Project and the Textual Work

Following the lead of a previous study, Fairytale (cf. Paper 2: 9), The Golden Apple was chosen as one of the potentially useful tales for the "Folktale project" in 1983. A translation of the story was made directly from Turkish into Danish by Viron Valasaki in 1983/II. The story was then read by 39 Danish gymnasiaster (Paper 3); from their responses, we concluded that The Golden Apple was the story that best served for our purposes.

The first form of definitive text was set up at a session on 21 March 1985 where Viron Valasaki (Turkish (Danish)), JD and CT (English (Danish)), and CD (Danish (English)) mulled over the contents of the Turkish text (in which we also used material from the previous study), and established a text in both Danish and English.

The Danish and British texts were revised against one another by CD and CT, typed out and checked by two native speakers of either language. In addition, Ditte Laursen who read it out to a niece, made some comment.

The stylistic suggestions were checked and the appropriate alterations made. The texts were then prepared for the introspection studies; however, the word "job" which the original head translator had insisted on keeping in p. 3,l. 13, was unknown to the first three English speaking readers in the study, so it was exchanged for "got shy".

The texts were now considered final, and not changed from then on.

III.3.3 "Filters" between "the Ideal Tale" and the One in the Project

The tale recorded by Mr. Kemal Čig in 1939 was presumably committed to paper (in that most crucial transfer), in some kind of shorthand, "the filter of recording". At the linguistic level, the rendering seems to be fairly accurate since the tale printed by Pertev Boratav contains some dialectal expressions (Doltas et al. in Dollerup, 1983: 46).

Pertev Boratav may have altered some features in his "editorial filter" of the tale: he sometimes improved on syntax and eliminated some repetions (Doltas, ibid: 44).

In the "filter of linguistic transfer", two Turkish "tekerlemes", i.e. strings of words indicating that we are dealing with a narrative and setting the mood, were dropped (Dollerup 1983: 46; 50 fn.). Similary the "mis" tense characteristic of Turkish narratives (see Doltas, ibid. 13; 46; 50) was also left out, and both were discarded in favour of more well-known folktale markers in English and Danish which would not strike the readers as odd.

In the establishment of the "same texts" there was one problem at the linguistic level:

On p. 3 l. 17-18 the original had the word "abdest" which in Turkish means both prayers and craps. The following verb in the original reveals that the latter meaning is intended, but this verb is archaic, so there is clearly a pun, involving the girl's pretext for staying behind alone, and at the same time indicating that she receives some help from supernatural powers. We did our best to pass on the idea in both Danish and English by means of approximations. We believe they fell short of the original.

The "fourth filter" was the removal from Turkish audiences. Thus the names were intranslatable, for the Turkish forms had no obvious equivalents and could not in themselves, carry the same connotative overtones in Danish and English as they did in Turkish. On the other hand, we think we have faithfully preserved the other cultural features.

However, in combination, the diachronic and cultural factors introduced another filter as we were obliged to suppress features in the original which would take modern readers aback because the phenomena seemed anachronistic: the boy smokes a cigarette at the bridge (p. 3,l.18); this we left out. Similary, the girl smokes cigarettes all night at Beyoglu's castle (p. 4 l. 25); this was toned down to just "smoking". And in our modern version, the girl also sent home only a message (p. 7,l. 16) instead of the original "telegramme". The point is not that these features really jar modern readers - but they detract attention from the story.

Two other features were changed because we were sure they might surprise readers ignorant of specific social features in the original. The religious ministers who marry the girl and the boy were called "priests" in English and "præster" in Danish, as the original's "immans" (p. 9,l. 22) might well be too unfamiliar with some readers in our potential multicultural study.

And the young couple were given only a shop, not a draper's shop as in the original (p. 9,l. 26).

We think these changes have not altered the story, rather made sure that it is not misunderstood or does not contain features that strike modern readers as decidedly odd.

III.4 The Danish and the English Versions of The Golden Apple

On the following pages we print the Danish and English versions of the text. A summary of the Turkish original is given in Paper 2: 10-11. A more legible form of the final text is given in Paper 6.

Guldæblet

Der var engang en mand der havde seks døtre. De havde det ganske godt.

En dag gik manden på kaffehuset. Der sagde en af hans naboer til ham: "Hej, du far til seks tæver!" Manden tabte mælet af skam, og han begyndte at gruble.

Han kom hjem, hvor han blev ved at gå og gruble. Den ældste datter kom og sagde: "Hvad går du og grubler over, far?" Først ville manden ikke sige hende, hvorfor han grublede. Da pigen gik ham på klingen, fortalte han hende, hvad manden havde sagt. "Åh," sagde pigen. "Som om det var noget at gruble over. Og jeg, som troede, at nogen ville have mig til ægte, og at det var det, du gik og grublede over."

Så nu fik manden to ting at gruble over.

Sådan blev det ved fem aftener i træk: Manden gik på kaffehuset, og hver gang sagde naboen: "Hej, du far til seks tæver!" Manden kunne ikke sige en lyd. Han kom hjem og sad og grublede. Og én efter én kom hans døtre og spurgte: "Hvad grubler du over, far?", og når manden så fortalte dem hvorfor han gik og grublede, sagde de: "Og vi, som troede, at nogen ville have os til ægte, og at det var det, du gik og grublede over." Og det gav ham bare mere at gruble over.

Den sjette dag gik det på samme måde, og manden vendte hjem i dybe tanker. Denne gang spurgte den yngste datter ham: "Hvad går du og grubler over, far?"

THE GOLDEN APPLE

Once upon a time there was a man who had six daughters. They had quite a comfortable life.

One day the man went to the coffee-house. There one of his neighbours said to him: "Hello there, you father of six bitches!" The man was struck dumb with shame, and he began to brood.

He came home where he went on brooding. The eldest daughter came and said: "What are you brooding about, father?" At first the man would not tell her why he was brooding. When she pressed for an answer, he told her what the man had said. "Oh," said the girl, "that's not worth brooding about. And there was I thinking someone had asked for my hand in marriage, and it was that you were brooding about."

So now the man had two things to brood about.

And so it went on for five evenings one after the other, the man went to the coffee-house, and every time the neighbour said: "Hello there, you father of six bitches!" The man could not say a word. He came home and sat there brooding. And one by one his daughters came and asked him: "What are you brooding about, father?" And when the man then told them why he was brooding, they said: "And there we were thinking that someone had asked for our hands in marriage, and that was why you were brooding." And this only gave him more to brood about.

On the sixth day it happened in the same fashion, and the man came home deep in thought. This time his youngest daughter asked him: "What are you brooding about, father?"

Det fortalte han nende så.

"Det skal du ikke tage så tungt, far," sagde den yngste pige. "Gå du på kaffehuset igen i morgen aften. Hvis den mand siger: 'Hej, du far til seks tæver!', skal du svare igen med: 'Hej, du far til seks køtere!" For det forholdt sig nemlig sådan, at den anden mand var far til seks sønner.

Den næste aften gik faderen til de seks piger hen på kaffehuset. Da den anden mand kom hen og sagde: "Hej, du far til seks tæver!", svarede han igen: "Hej, du far til seks køtere!" Manden sagde: "Det kan godt være mine sønner er køtere, men de kan stjæle guldæblet fra Beyoglus lomme." Manden kunne ikke svare igen på det. Han kom igen hjem i dybe tanker. Da den yngste pige spurgte: "Hvad skete der, far?" svarede han: "Min pige, han sagde 'Hej, du far til seks tæver!'. Så sagde jeg: 'Hej, du far til seks køtere!' til ham. Men så sagde han: 'Mine køtere kan stjæle guldæblet fra Beyoglus lomme. Kan dine tæver også gøre det?' Den kunne jeg ikke give ham igen på."

"Det skal du slet ikke tænke på, far", sagde pigen. Selvfølgelig kan jeg stjæle det. Gå du igen på kaffehuset i morgen aften. Hvis han siger det igen, skal du sige: 'Det kan mine også.' Væd en masse penge med ham. Om Allah vil, skal jeg ikke gøre dig til skamme."

Den næste aften gik manden på kaffehuset. Efterhånden som det ene ord tog det andet, og hver af dem hævdede, at det var netop hans børn der kunne gøre det, kom de i klammeri, og folk stimlede sammen. Midt under det hele kom vagtmændene forbi, arresterede dem begge, og smed dem i

So he told her.

"That is nothing to worry about, father," said the youngest girl. You go to the coffee-house again tomorrow evening. If that man says: 'Hello there,you father of six bitches!' you retort: 'Hello there,you father of six curs!" For the fact was that the other man was the father of six sons.

The next evening the father of the six girls went to the coffee-house. When the other man came up and said: "Hello there, you father of six bitches!" he answered: "Hello , father of six curs!" The man said: "My sons may be curs, but they can steal the golden apple from Beyoglu's pocket." The man couldn't think of an answer to this. Again he came home deep in thought. When the youngest girl asked him: "What happened, father?" he answered: "My girl, he said: 'Hello there, you father of six bitches!', so I said: 'Hello there, you father of six curs!'. But then he said: 'My curs can steal the golden apple from Beyoglu's pocket. Can your bitches do that too?'. I did not have an answer to that."

"Don't you worry about that, father," said the girl. "Of course I can steal it. You go to the coffee-house again tomorrow evening. If he says that to you again, you say: 'So can mine.' Bet him a lot of money. "With the help of Allah, I shall not disgrace you."

The next evening the man went to the coffee-house. As their argument grew more heated, each claiming that it was his own children who could do the deed, they lost their tempers and a crowd began to gather. While this was going on, the guards came by and arrested both of them and threw

fængsel. Der blev de ved at skændes, og hver af dem hævdede, at det var netop hans børn der kunne gøre det. Til sidst besluttede de at gå til øvrigheden. Overfor dommerne blev de enige om, at den ene skulle sende sin yngste søn og den anden sin yngste datter af sted sammen for at hente guldæblet.

Inden de tog af sted, fik pigen drengetøj på og navnet 'Ali', og drengen fik et pålæg om at hvis han gjorde pigen fortræd, kunne han vente sig.

Da de var steget til hest, drog de af sted. Fra da af kaldte drengen pigen for "Ali Sagdik".

Efter at de var rejst langt, kom de til en bro over en flod. Deres heste blev sky og ville slet ikke over broen. Ligegyldigt hvor meget de anstrengte sig, kunne de ikke komme over broen til den anden side. De besluttede så at vende om. Nu sagde pigen til drengen: "Rid i forvejen! Jeg skal lige afsides på naturens vegne. Jeg skal nok indhente dig."

Drengen vendte om og begav sig af sted. Mens hun gik afsides på naturens vegne, sagde hun ved sig selv: "Der er nok noget på broen, som hesten kan se, og som gør den sky. Hvis jeg bandt den for øjnene, ville den nok gå over broen."

Hun rejste sig straks og bandt hesten for øjnene. Da hun nåede broen, gav hun den et slag med piasken, og hesten løb over broen i fuldt firspring.

På den anden side af floden vendte drengen sig et øjeblik om og så, at pigen var kommet over broen og red videre. Han råbte ad hende, og pigen vinkede at han skulle følge efter. Drengen vendte tilbage. Men da han nåede hen til broen, kunne han igen ikke få hesten til at gå frem, lige-

them into prison. There they went on quarrelling, each claiming that it was his own children who could do the deed. At last they decided to take the case to the authorities. There, before the judges, they agreed that one would send his youngest son and the other his youngest daughter off together to fetch the golden apple.

Before they went off, the girl was given boy's clothes to wear and the name 'Ali', and the boy was warned that if he let the girl get into trouble, he would answer for it.

Once on their horses, they set off. From that moment on, the boy called the girl "Ali Sagdik".

After they had travelled far, they came upon a bridge across a river. Their horses got shy and refused to cross the bridge. No matter how hard they tried, they couldn't get over the bridge to the other side. So they decided to turn back. Then the girl said to the boy: "You ride on ahead! I must answer a call of nature - I'll catch you up."

The boy turned round and started off. As the girl was answering the call of nature, she said to herself: "There must be something on the bridge which the horse can see, and that makes it shy. If I blindfolded it, I'm sure it would go over the bridge."

She got up at once and blindfolded the horse. When she reached the bridge she struck it with her whip and the horse leapt across the bridge at full gallop.

On the other side of the river the boy turned round for a moment and saw that the girl had crossed the bridge and was riding on. He called out to her, and she beckoned to him. The boy turned back. But when he reached the bridge, he was again unable to make the horse go on, no matter how hard

meget hvor megen umage han gjorde sig. Han piskede dyret skånselsløst og slog det ihjel. Da deres bestemmelsessted lå langt borte, orkede han ikke at gå til fods, og derfor havde han ikke andet valg end at vende om. Han tog hestens sadel på ryggen og drog hjem igen.

Pigen red og red til natten faldt på. Sent om aftenen så hun en samling huse i det fjerne. "Nåh, jeg kan vel tilbringe natten der," sagde hun. Da hun nåede frem, mødte hun en gammel kone, der stod foran et hus. "Vær hilset," sagde pigen. "Må jeg overnatte hos dig? Allah vil belønne dig." Den gamle kone boede alene. "Jo, gerne, kom bare ind, min pige," sagde hun. Den nat fortalte pigen den gamle, hvad der var sket. Hun fortalte hende, at hun skulle stjæle guldæblet fra Beyoglus lomme. Og den næste dag gav den gamle kone hende en klump gær og en lille hund til følgesvend. Hun sagde: "Du må overhovedet ikke lade hunden vige fra din side. Når du så er rejst langt, kommer du til et stort vand. Du smider halvdelen af denne gær i vandet, og vandene vil dele sig. Du går gennem det, og når så frem til Beyoglus land. Pas på ikke at tabe den anden halvdel af gæren!"

Pigen sagde: "Jeg skal nok gøre hvad du siger," og tog lidt efter af sted. Og nu kom hun til det store vand. Hun smed straks halvdelen af gæren i vandet. Vandene delte sig i to, og hun kom sikkert igennem. Vandene lukkede sig igen, og så befandt hun sig foran et enormt slot!

Og dér gik Beyoglu rundt foran porten. Beyoglu så op og fik øje på en kæk ungersvend til hest, en meget smuk

he tried. He whipped the animal mercilessly, and beat it to death. Since the place they were bound for was far away, he didn't have the strength to go on foot and accordingly he had no choice but to turn back. He put the horse's saddle on his own back and returned home.

The girl rode and rode until nightfall. Late in the evening she saw a cluster of houses in the distance. "Well, I may as well spend the night there," she said. When she got there, she met an old woman standing in front of a house. "Greetings" the girl said, "May I stay with you tonight? Allah will reward you." The old woman lived by herself. "Yes, certainly you may, come in, my dear," she said. That night the girl told the old woman what had happened. She told her that she was going to steal the golden apple out of Beyoglu's pocket. And the next day the old woman gave her a lump of yeast, and a little dog to be her companion. She said: "You must not ever let the dog leave your side. Now, after you have gone a long way, you will come upon a great stretch of water. You must throw half of this yeast into the water, and the waters will part. You will pass through them and then you'll arrive in Beyoglu's country. Mind that you do not lose the other half of the yeast!"

The girl said: "I'll do as you say," and after a while set off. And she came to the water. She at once threw the yeast into it. The waters parted, and she passed through safe and sound. The waters closed again, and then she found herself before a huge castle!

And there was Beyoglu, strolling around in front of the gate. Beyoglu looked up and saw a bold stripling on horseback

yngling med en lille hund i hælene. Beyoglu gik ham straks i møde. Han bød ham velkommen, spurgte hvordan han havde det, og hvad han hed.

"Ali Sagdik," sagde pigen.

Lidt senere gik Beyoglu hen til sin mor og sagde: "Mor, vi har fået en gæst, Ali Sagdik, hvis øjne ligner en piges. Han minder meget om en pige. Jeg er blevet forelsket i ham. Hvad skal vi gøre? Hvordan skal vi finde ud af, om vi har at gøre med en pige eller ej?"

"Det kan vi let finde ud af, min søn," sagde hans mor. Før vi går i seng, lægger vi nogle rosenblade under lagnet i Alis seng. Unge piger er særdeles varmblodige. Hvis vores gæst er en pige, er bladene tørret ind i morgen. Så er vi på det rene med det."

Den lille hund kunne imidlertid tale. Den gik straks hen til pigen og fortalte hende, hvad den havde hørt.

Det begyndte at blive mørkt. Beyoglu selv vartede hende op hele tiden og lod hverken tjenestefolkene eller nogen andre gøre noget for hende. Omsider blev det sengetid. Han spurgte om Ali Sagdik måske ville gøre sig i stand inden sengetid. Så snart pigen var gået ud, strøede Beyoglu rosenbladene under lagnet og gik. Da pigen var færdig, gik hun ind i soveværelset. Hun rodede lidt op i sengetøjet, men lagde sig slet ikke i sengen. Hun blev oppe og <u>røg</u> til den lyse morgen.

Om morgenen gik Beyoglu, mens han rømmede sig kraftigt, hen hvor hans gæst var, og spekulerede på om Ali Sagdik var vågnet. Det var hun, og da tjenestefolkene kom og ordnede sengen, så Beyoglu, at rosenbladene var lige så friske som før.

a very beautiful youth with a little dog at his heels. Beyoglu went at once to meet him. He welcomed him, asked him how he was and what his name was.

"Ali Sagdik," said the girl.

Not long afterwards Beyoglu went to his mother and said: "Mother, we have a guest, Ali Sagdik, whose eyes have the look of a girl's eyes. He resembles a girl very much. I have fallen in love with him. What can we do? How do we find out if we have a girl here or not?".

"There is an easy way to find out, my son," said his mother. "Before we go to bed, we'll place some rose petals beneath the sheet on his bed. Young girls are very hot-blooded. If our guest is a girl, the leaves will be shrivelled by morning. Then we shall know."

Now the little dog could talk. It immediately went to the girl and told her what it had heard.

It began to grow dark. Beyoglu himself waited on her all the time, letting neither the servants nor anyone else do anything for her. After a while it was time to go to bed. He suggested that Ali Sagdik might like to freshen up before going to bed. As soon as the girl had gone to do that, Beyoglu spread the rose petals beneath the sheet and went away. When the girl was ready, she came to bed. She ruffled the bedclothes a little, but did not lie down in it at all. She sat up all night smoking.

In the morning, Beyoglu, noisily clearing his throat, came to where his guest was, wondering if Ali Saqdik was yet awake. She was, and when the servants came and tidied the bed, Beyoglu saw that the rose petals were just as fresh as ever.

Så gik Beyoglu igen til sin mor: "Mor, hvad skal vi dog gøre for at finde ud af, om gæst er en pige eller ej?"

Det gav hans mor ham følgende råd for: "Tag vores gæst med på indkøb i basaren, og gå hen i guldsmedegaden. Hvis hun er en pige, holder hun af pynt og vil gerne købe perler og stads. Og undervejs skal du slå hende hårdt med albuen. Hvis det er en pige, får hun tårer i øjnene."

Så Beyoglu tog Ali Sagdik med til basaren, som hans moder havde foreslået. På vejen slog han hende på hagen som for sjov, og brækkede en af Ali Sagdiks fortænder som faldt ud. Ali Sagdik trak på skuldrene, tog straks en perle op af lommen, og satte den ind i stedet for den tabte tand. Så kom de til gaden med guldsmedenes stande. Ali Sagdik viste ikke synderlig interesse for perlerne og diamanterne. Lidt senere sagde han, som om han kedede sig: "Jamen, hvad skal vi dog her? Jeg har tabt min kniv på vejen. Vis mig hvor man sælger knive, så jeg kan få en ny."

De gik hen hvor man solgte knive, og Ali købte en kniv og satte den i bæltet.

De vendte tilbage til slottet. Beyoglu gik hen til sin mor og fortalte hende alt, hvad der var hændt. "Åh, mor," plagede han, "hvad er Ali Sagdik dog, en pige eller en dreng? Der må da være en måde at finde ud af det på!"

"Min søn," sagde hun. "Tag ham med i badehuset. Så kommer alt for dagen."

Beyoglu gik hen til pigen og sagde: "Ali Sagdik, vil du med i badet?"

"Gerne. Jeg er nemlig grundigt støvet og snavset efter rejsen."

Then Beyoglu went to his mother again: "Mother, what ever can we do, to find out whether our guest is a girl or not?"

This was the advice his mother gave him: "Take our guest shopping in the bazaar; go to the street of jewellers. If she is a girl, she will love finery and will want to buy pearls and baubles. And on the way give her a knock with your elbow. If she is a girl, her eyes will fill with tears."

So Beyoglu took Ali to the bazaar as his mother had suggested. On the way, he struck her on the chin as if in fun, breaking one of her front teeth which fell out. Ali Sagdik shrugged, produced a pearl from her pocket, and inserted it in the place of the lost tooth. Then they came to the street where the jewellery stalls were. Ali Sagdik showed no particular interest in the pearls and the diamonds. A little later he said, as if bored: "Well, what are we doing here anyway? I lost my knife on the way. Show me where they sell the knives so that I can get a new one."

They went to the place where they sold knives, and Ali bought a knife and stuck it in her belt.

They returned to the palace. Beyoglu went to his mother and told her all that had happened. "Oh, Mother," he implored her, "what is Ali Sagdik, a girl or a boy? There must be some way of finding out!"

"My son," she said. "Take him along to the bath house. Then everything will be brought into the open."

Beyoglu went to the girl and said: "Ali Sagdik, would you like to come to the bath house?"

"By all means. I am dusty and travel-stained after my journey."

De gik sammen hen i badehuset. Beyoglu tog tøjet af i en fart. Pigen klædte sig ganske langsomt af. Da Beyoglu så sagde: "Nåh, skynd dig så lidt!" svarede pigen: "Gid Fanden havde den skrædder! Han har lavet knaphullerne altfor snævre. Jeg kan ikke få knapperne op." Efter at hun havde holdt Beyoglu lidt hen, sagde hun så: "Gå du bare ind, så kommer jeg bagefter."

Da Beyoglu var gået ind i baderummet, tog pigen straks guldæblet i hans lomme. Hun skrev en besked og lagde den i lommen i stedet for. Hun steg til hest og galloperede væk så hurtigt hun kunne.

Hun red afsted til hun igen kom til det store vand. Hun kastede den anden halvdel af gæren, som hun havde i lommen, i vandet, og vandene delte sig, så hun kom igennem. Hun kom igen til den gamle kone og gav hende den lille hund tilbage. Og så sendte hun en besked hjem om at hun havde guldæblet og var på vej. Da hun kom hjem, kom folk pigen i møde med hyldest og klingende spil. Da hun kom ganske tæt på dem tog hun guldæblet op af lommen og viste det kort. Og æblet strålede som ild.

Man førte pigen hen til rådhuset, og man spyttede faderen med de seks sønner i ansigtet. Man gav en belønning til pigens far, som blev rig og levede lykkeligt.

Tilbage i badet havde Beyoglu ventet og ventet på Ali Sagdik, men forgæves. Så gik han ud i værelset, hvor de havde klædt sig af, og så, at Ali Sagdik ikke var der. Han så efter i de andre værelser, men der var ingen! "Ak, nej, vi har fornærmet ham," sagde han ved sig selv. Så klædte han sig på. Mens han rodede i lommen efter sit lommetørklæde for at tørre sig i ansigtet, fandt han til sin overraskelse

Together they went to the bath house. Beyoglu undressed without delay. The girl undressed very slowly. Whenever Beyoglu said: "Oh, do hurry up!" the girl replied: "Damn this tailor! He made the buttonholes too tight. I can't get them undone." After she had stalled Beyoglu for a little while, she said: "You go on in, and I will follow you."

When Beyoglu had gone into the bath the girl at once took the golden apple from his pocket. She wrote a message and left it in the pocket instead. Mounting her horse, she galloped off as fast as she could. Away she rode till she came again to the great stretch of water. She threw the other half of the yeast she had in her pocket into the water, and the waters parted, so she passed through. She came again to the old woman, gave her back the little dog. Then she sent a message home saying that she had the golden apple, and was on her way home. When she got home, the people came out to meet her, cheering and with the band playing. When she was close to them, she took the golden apple from her pocket and flashed it briefly. And the apple glittered like fire.

They led the girl up to the town hall and they spat in the face of the man with the six sons. They gave a reward to the girl's father, who lived happy and wealthy ever after.

Meanwhile, in the bath Beyoglu waited and waited for Ali Sagdik but in vain. Then he went out to the room where they had undressed, and saw that Ali Sagdik was not there. He looked into the other rooms, but nobody was there! "Oh, dear, we have offended him," he said to himself. He got dressed. As he was rummaging for his handkerchief to wipe his face, he was surprised to find a note.

en seddel. Han læste en forbløffet:

"Jeg kom som sommer, jeg går bort som høst.
Jeg kom som mø, jeg går bort som mø."

Nedenunder læste han hvem pigen var og hvor hun boede. Så stak Beyoglu hånden i den anden lomme og opdagede at guldæblet var væk! Han gik lige hjem og fortalte sin mor alt, hvad der var sket.

Så tilkaldte de en troldkone. Nu var der en mængde duer og turtelduer i Beyoglus have. De fangede to turteldue, som de gav troldkonen. De gav hende også pigens adresse. Beyoglu sagde til troldkonen: "Pigen har en perle i stedet for en af sine fortænder. Det kan du genkende hende på. Giv hende disse duer."

Troldkonen sprang straks op på en vandkrukke og på et øjeblik befandt hun sig uden for pigens hjem. Pigens søstre kom ud for at tage imod troldkonen og sagde: "Nej, sikke nogle smukke turtelduer, vil du ikke nok sælge dem til os?" Men hun svarede: "De er ikke til salg. Jeg giver dem til den, som lader mig høre en smuk latter." Piger er lattermilde, så de lo.

Nu var det sådan, at den yngste søster sov ovenpå. Hun vågnede ved sine søstres latter og kom ned. Da hun så turtelduerne, sagde hun: "Næh, sikke nogle smukke turtelduer. De ligner dem i Beyoglus have på en prik. Vil du sælge dem?"

"De er ikke til salg, min pige. Jeg vil give dem til dig for en smuk latter."

Så lo den unge pige. Da troldkvinden så perlen i pigens mund, sagde hun: "Værsgo' min pige. Det var en smuk latter. Turtelduerne er dine."

In amazement, he read:

"I came as summer, I leave as autumn,
I came a maiden, I leave a maiden."

Below he read who the girl was and where she lived. Then Beyoglu put his hand in the other pocket, and discovered that the golden apple was gone! He went straight home and told his mother all that had happened.

Then they summoned a sorceress. Now there were a number of pigeons and turtledoves in Beyoglu's garden. They caught two turtledoves which they gave to the sorceress. They also gave the girl's address. Beyoglu said to the sorceress: "The girl has a pearl in place of one of her front teeth. You can recognize her by that. Give her these doves."

The witch at once leapt on to a water jar and in a flash found herself outside the girl's home. The girl's sisters came out to meet the sorceress, saying: "Oh, what beautiful turtledoves, won't you sell them to us?" But she answered: "They are not for sale. I will give them to the one who lets me hear a beautiful laugh." Girls laugh a lot, and the girls laughed.

Now it happened that the youngest sister was sleeping upstairs. She woke up at her sisters' laughter and came down. When she saw the turtledoves, she said: "Oh, what beautiful turtledoves. They look just like the ones in Beyoglu's garden. Will you sell them?"

"They are not for sale, my dear. I will give them to you for a beautiful laugh."

Then the young girl laughed. When the sorceress saw the pearl in the girl's mouth, she said: "Here you are,

På vej ud sagde hun: "Lad være med at fodre dem begge samtidig, min pige! Ellers kan du ikke vænne dem til huset." Og så var hun væk.

Samme aften fodrede pigen den ene af duerne og gik i seng. Engang i nattens løb sagde den mætte due til den anden: "Kom, lad os flygte!"

Den anden due sagde: "Du er mæt, men jeg er sulten. Du tror da vel ikke, jeg vil af sted?"

Således fodrede pigen først den ene og så den anden fyrre dage i træk. Den enogfyrretyvende nat fodrede hun dem begge. Ved midnat, da pigen sov, greb turtelduerne hende og bragte hende lige til Beyoglu. Det viste sig, at Beyoglu sad med åbne arme og ventede på pigen. De lagde hende i hans arme. Beyoglu nænnede ikke at vække hende. Henimod morgen begyndte alle duerne og turtelduerne at kurre. Pigen, der troede, det var en drøm, sagde: "Hør, storesøstre, disse turtelduer kurrer nøjagtig som Beyoglus."

Så sagde Beyoglu: "Vågn op, og se, hvor du er." Og da pigen slog øjnene op, var hun dybt forbavset.

Beyoglu havde tilmed sørget for præster og alting. De blev viet med det samme, og deres bryllupsfest varede i fyrretyve dage og fyrretyve nætter. Således gik begges inderste ønske i opfyldelse.

Beyoglus far købte en butik til sin søn. Så de kom til at sidde godt i det, og det gør de den dag idag.

my dear. That was a beautiful laugh. The doves are yours."

On her way out, she said: "My dear, don't feed both of them at the same time! Otherwise you cannot make them get used to the house." Then she was gone.

The same evening the girl fed one of the doves, and went to bed. Once during the night the dove which had eaten said to the other one: "Come on, let us escape!"

The other dove said: "You are full, but I am hungry. Do you think I want to leave?"

So the girl fed first one, and then the other, for forty days. On the forty-first night she fed them both. At midnight, when the girl was asleep, the turtledoves seized her and took her straight to Beyoglu. It turned out that Beyoglu was sitting with open arms, waiting for the girl. They laid her in his arms. Beyoglu did not have the heart to wake her. Towards morning, all the pigeons and the turtledoves began to coo. Thinking it was a dream the girl said: "Listen, big sisters, these turtledoves coo just like Beyoglu's turtledoves."

Then Beyoglu said: "Wake up, and see where you are." And when the girl opened her eyes she was quite astonished.

Indeed, Beyoglu had arranged for the priests and everything. They were married at once, and their wedding celebrations lasted for forty days and forty nights. So they both obtained their hearts' desire.

Beyoglu's father set up his son in a shop. So they were comfortably established, and they are still living at ease.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The aim of the project is to establish similarities and differences in the response to narratives in different cultures. For this purpose, we have chosen texts which without a doubt carry a cultural and social imprint; for this particular purpose we have selected stories told by people who were, as far as we could ascertain, well-known storytellers in local communities. This implies that they were good storytellers according to the norms of their own communities, and yet that they were little affected by "elitish norms": they would reflect social and cultural as well as individual realities. These narrators all used a vehicle, namely a story, which may then turn out to be universal in terms of themes, but is "universal" in so far as it is a narrative.

We have argued elsewhere that narratives told in the oral tradition like those in the present study project, cannot be considered "authentic" once the narrators have finished telling the story, the "ideal tale", in an intimate social and narrative contract with their audiences, because the audiences an their reactions are part of the "ideal tale".

In the reading process, the text fuses with a reader, and this, in itself, means that there is a radical change in terms of audience, from the local - perhaps even illiterate - to the nationwide, literate one. But in addition, there are several "filters", some of them ovelapping, which means that all written tales, including the ones in this project are several removes from the "ideal tales". Filters are found at e.g. the level of recording, of editing, and at the level of translation, in our case "linguistic transfers".

In terms of recording, we are dealing with only the linguistic signals, and no more. The filter cutting out, as were, the environmental features, like audicence participation, is automatically operating - but so it is in the reading. In itself, then, this needs hardly bother us.

Being a phonetic transcript the Greenlandic story is by far the most authentic in terms of accuracy of the linguistic

rendering of the "ideal tales". The other two are based on notation - possibly dictate - and in so far as we can discern personal linguistic idiosyncracies in the versions we have used, they seem to be fairly accurate: they do not seem faulty or missing in terms of content.

In the Danish tale we have had to pay attention to a diachronic filter: we have suppressed a reference to socage, rephrased and changed a strand alluding to coins for lack of modern equivalents although we have tried to make up for this by rephrasing it. And we have rewritten a passage requiring a visualisation of obsolete furnitures.

All three tales have demanded a kind of "stylistic ironing out", to make them conform with standards of modern syntax and language use in Danish and English. This has meant more punctuation, more full stops, and more frequent sections.

The Greenlandic tale referred to specific Eskimo phenomena, including a possible inside joke. The only one excluded was the all to visual reference to an archaic Eskimo winter hut. And in our modern rendition we also initially overlooked that the story was so culturally bound that it was taken for granted that everybody would know that the bears were white.

The Turkish tale forced us to delete seemingly anachronistic phemonena, namely cigarettes, telegrammes, and a draper's shop, but apart from the somewhat vague phrasing of the ablution metaphor in the religious strain in the tale, the rendering in Danish and in English seems to be fairly identical.

In the context of the project, the changes wrought are minor: the language has been modernished, and a few features have been weakened whereas the majority have been made more comprehensible to modern readers by rephrasing the originals.

In setting up the definitive texts, we have paid attention to both Danish and English in terms of content and style. We think the ordinary translation process is circumscribed and limited to an instantaneous process where two cultures and linguistic systems fuse, unite, in the decoding and encoding by one translator from his knowledge of the outside world. This imposes limitatins on translations, and these we have tried to avoid in the present project by having several translators work

simultaneously with the same text, so that they could supplement one another in terms of content transfer of the texts.

It goes without saying that only time will show if the attempt has been successful. On the other hand, we must be aware of the inherent possibilities that the texts are integrated in Danish and in British English in different speech acts within the larger framework of different language systems. And it is imperative that linguistic embeddings are not mistaken for content differences: i.e. it is correct to translate "flense" with "flænse" but the knowledge of the act of "flensing" is not identical in the cultures spanned by Danish and English.

V. NOTES

1. The tale may, of course, be read by any number of readers in any number of countries outside our study. But this is irrelevant to our project.
2. It may not be totally irrelevant that Mads Bæk Thomsen had served as a soldier in the army.
3. The coins used internally in Denmark were silver coins. Gold coins were minted in Denmark, but were used only in foreign trade.
4. In The Fairytale study, some readers complained that they missed information on this point.
5. We tried to contact a daughter of the narrator of the story in order to find out if this was the case. Our attempt was, unsuccessful, however.
6. Information from professor Dilek Doltas.

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OVERVIEW OF 'FOLKTALE' AS OF SEPTEMBER 1987
WORK DONE

1. QUESTIONNAIRES ON THE READERS' BACKGROUNDS

Danish side:

First version tested out with c. 50 readers (1985)
Revision undertaken (1985/I)
2nd version tested with c. 50 readers (1985)

English side

First version tested out with c. 40 readers (1985)
Revision undertaken
2nd version tested with British readers (1985)
Indian readers (1985)
Nigerian readers (1985-86)

2. THE TEXTS

One Danish, one Greenlandic and one Turkish story selected (1983-85)
Texts established in the "same" British-English and Danish version (the present report (1985).

3. EMPIRICAL STUDIES

3. a Introspection studies (covering 7 Danes; 3 Greenlanders; and 11 readers from the English-speaking world) 1985-86) and their response to the stories.

3. 1 Essay studies, covering
c. 50 Danish readers
c. 50 British readers
c. 150 Indian readers
c. 80 Nigerian readers
(1985-86), and the readers' response to the stories.

PROGRESS

1. ANALYSES OF
1. a Introspection studies
1. b Questionnaire on readers' backgrounds
1. c Essay studies.

IN PREPARATION

QUESTIONNAIRES ON
1. a The Danish story: Per Smeds Whip
1 b The Greenlandic story: The Barking Ones
1. c The Turkish story: The Golden Apple

IN THE PLANNING STAGE:
Testing the questionnaires and the full-scale data-collecting

PUBLICATIONS FROM THE "FOLKTALE PROJECT"

The Ontological Status, the Formative Elements, the "Filters" and Existences of Folktales: a Discussion. Fabula: Zeitschrift für Erzählforschung 25 (1984). 241-265.

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